The Outlook

Vol. 68 May 11, 1901 No. 2

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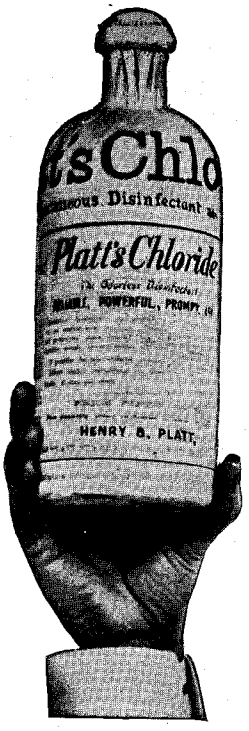

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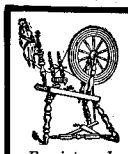

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The Outlook

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The Pan-American Exposition

The most picturesque feature of the informal opening of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo on Thursday of last week was the releasing at three o'clock of nearly four thousand homing pigeons, each bearing a message from the Director-General "To the people of all the Americas." The gates were opened in the morning, and at noon there were brief speeches in the Government Building. Mayor Conrad Diehl, of Buffalo, Mr. John G. Milburn, President of the Exposition, and General William I. Buchanan, Director-General, were among the speakers. A message from President McKinley was read, forty-six aerial bombs were fired, one in honor of each State in the Union, the flags on all the buildings were unfurled, and in the evening the buildings were for the first time illuminated. The formal ceremonies marking the opening have been postponed until the twentieth of May, and the indications are that by that time the Exposition will be in good running order. Much of the delay has been due to the almost unparalleled weather of the past six weeks, culminating in the heavy snowstorm of a fortnight ago. Most of the buildings are, however, practically completed, and the exhibits are being very rapidly installed. The grounds of the Exposition cover three hundred and fifty acres, which is somewhat more than half of the total space occupied at Chicago. The architectural scheme has a unity which has not marked any preceding Exposition, and the liberal use of color for decorative effect has already suggested the title of the Rainbow City. A large majority of the Central and South American States are represented by exhibits, and several of them have striking buildings. The beginnings of the fair are auspicious, and there is every prospect that the attendance during the coming six months will be second only to that at Chicago. The illumination of the buildings in the evening will be, when the grounds are complete, the most beautiful spectacle of its kind that the world has ever seen. On Sunday the grounds were open but the buildings closed; the decision as to the final arrangement with regard to Sunday opening has not yet been announced.

❀

The Jacksonville Fire

On Friday of last week one-half of the city of Jacksonville, Florida, was reduced to ashes within a few hours. The fire started in the yards of a fiber company, where sparks from a neighboring chimney had fallen, and was swiftly carried by the wind over a district thirteen blocks wide and two miles in length. The terrible speed of the conflagration was the result of the frame construction of nearly all the buildings, the dryness of the season, and the height of the wind—all of which worked together to make the calamity as sudden as it was appalling. Every church and nearly every public building was swept away, while the homes of ten thousand people were burned before anything of value could be saved. "The disaster," says a despatch of Saturday night, "has effectually obliterated the dividing line between the rich and poor, and a common catastrophe has made all akin. To-night the sidewalks are thronged with homeless persons. The wharfs are crowded with sleepers, and every available craft in the harbor has been made into a temporary hotel." Secretary Root promptly placed government barracks and tents at the disposal of the local authorities, the Governor of the State as promptly aided them with the support of militia companies to prevent looting, and everything seems to have been done with rare energy and discretion to meet the crisis.

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But the crisis still remains, and for weeks to come the local authorities will need the help which already is being generously sent to them from all parts of the country.

❀

Tracing the Connection New York City has been witnessing a strange spectacle: on the one hand, pool-rooms and gambling-houses have been raided one after another on evidence previously obtained and on warrants regularly sworn out and served (if necessary even with violence) by Justice Jerome, of the Court of Special Sessions, in person; on the other hand are seen the Commissioner of Police, Murphy, and his Deputy, Devery (in all but name Chief of Police), calmly and repeatedly denying that they have any evidence that public gambling exists in New York. To add to the anomaly, the keepers of the illegal pool-rooms in New York are in a state of virtuous indignation at the illegal gambling at the race-tracks, and call upon the police to stop it! Justice Jerome has the law behind him in his unusual course of serving warrants personally, as might be shown by quoting several sections of the penal code. As to the dignity of such a proceeding, a reformer and enforcer of the law who thought more of his personal dignity than of his object would in New York prove more statuesque than efficient. Moreover, in recognizing the debt of good citizens to Justice Jerome, it should be remembered that he is working for something far more important than any number of sensational raids and arrests. The whole force of the attack on corruption and lawbreaking now is and must be in finding the links of the chain of guilt which, as every man on the street believes, stretches from gambler to policeman and politician. It is for evidence of this that District Attorney Philbin, the Committee of Fifteen, and Justice Jerome are striving. Letters, checks, and receipts found in the safes of raided places have already furnished much evidence tending in this direction. The mysterious "John Doe" about whom there has been so much newspaper wit and vague wonder is in reality probably not one but several men, and before long there may be evidence enough to enable the Grand Jury to lay before the courts and the people the details of a systematic conspiracy to defend gamblers from punishment or interference with their business on payment of regular tribute through systematized channels. With this ground gained, one point of vantage in the coming political campaign will be gained, for emphatically that campaign must be primarily moral as well as non-partisan.

❀

The President's Tour It is a mistake to attach special political significance to the cordial welcome everywhere accorded to President McKinley in his tour throughout the United States. That crowds greet him at every stopping-place indicates that the people pay an honor to the office of President which the press does not pay, and that in this respect the average American is both more of a patriot and more of a gentleman than the partisan newspaper, or that type of independent newspaper which out-Herods Herod in its partisanship. Doubtless Mr. McKinley is personally very popular; doubtless this trip will add to his popularity; for he has that unaffected interest in all classes of men, that spirit of genuine comradeship, and that sincere admiration for the common virtues of probity, industry, and thrift which always tend to popularity among what Abraham Lincoln called "the plain people." But that he is seeking to turn this popularity to his own advancement, or even to that of the Republican party as an organization, there is nothing to indicate. As is fitting, Mr. McKinley's speeches have dealt in generalities; the occasions for speech afforded by such non-partisan receptions are not appropriate places for the defense or even the definition of party policies. We are not of those who think that the utterance of the simpler moral maxims by such a speaker at such a time is valueless; such maxims uttered by a successful political leader, whose sincerity is apparent, come with a weight which does not attach to them when uttered by the minister from the pulpit. Among the most significant of his political utterances, as reported, are two—one bearing directly on expansion, the other indirectly on the protective policy:

> The policy of the United States has always been to keep what it originally started with,

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and hold all it honorably gets. [Great applause.] We refused to divide our original possessions, and we will be the last to desert our new possessions. [Long-continued applause.]

It is your business as well as mine to see to it that an industrial policy shall be pursued in the United States that shall open up the widest markets in every part of the world for the products of American soil and American manufacture. We can now supply our own markets. We have reached that point in our industrial development; and in order to secure sale for our surplus products we must open up new avenues for our surplus. I am sure that in that sentiment there will be no division, North or South.

The first of these paragraphs indicates clearly that, in the President's mind, the Philippines are to remain permanently in some form under American sovereignty. We think that this will be the probable result; though we hope and believe that they will remain, not as possessions, but as measurably autonomous colonies. The second of these paragraphs indicates that the President is prepared to ally himself with that increasing fraction of the Republican party which recognizes the fundamental truth that, in the words of the New York "Times," "expansion is sure, soon or late, to do away with restriction."

❀

Democratic Division at the South

Just when the division of the Democratic party at the South will show at the polls cannot be foretold, but the division is no longer a matter of prophecy, but of record. Within the past month there has been a series of events indicating the lines of the cleavage. The first—and least important—of these was President McKinley's appointment of a Gold Democrat, Mr. Capers, as United States Attorney for the District of South Carolina. Similar overtures have been made in the past by Republican Presidents to Southern Democrats—pre-eminently by President Hayes in the appointment of Postmaster-General Key from Tennessee—but the present instance was exceptional in that the appointment was strongly recommended by one of the Democratic Senators of the State from which the appointment was made, and was received within the State as significant of a new order. Hardly had this appointment been made than Senator McLaurin, who had recommended it, made a speech before the Manufacturers' Club at Charlotte, North Carolina, in which he not only defended his support of the expansionist, protectionist, and subsidy policies of the Administration, but called upon the business interests represented by his audience to repudiate the policies of the "new Democracy" which dictated the Kansas City platform. The South, he declared, ought now to support the policy of protection in order to develop its growing manufactures, and it ought to support Oriental expansion and subsidies to shipping in order to develop markets for the South's great industry—cotton. More than this, he continued, the South ought to condemn the spirit animating the whole programme of the new Democracy:

To sow discontent with industrial conditions and distrust of the governing power, to array class against class in the hope of securing fancied social and industrial equality, is, to my mind, the first step in revolution. . . . I, for one, do not believe that the people of the South are ready to trust this government into the hands of this so-called "new Democracy" to begin the leveling process through the exercise of the taxing power; and yet this is exactly what this new propaganda means, and outside of the South it is proclaimed by the very same class who preach and practice social equality between the races. The two dogmas are inseparably interwoven. Go into the West, attend one of their campaign meetings, scratch beneath the skin, and you will find the same old social equality dogma, to the tune of which the soul of John Brown is still "marching on."

The concluding sentences quoted marked the only point upon which Senator McLaurin's platform did not square with that of the Republican party, and the reception his speech met with showed that his audience was substantially in accord with him. A Conservative party, in harmony with the Republican party on everything except the negro question, already possesses the allegiance of the manufacturers of the South.

❀

The Negro Question Disappearing

The comment which Senator McLaurin's speech evoked at the South showed how strong was the position he had adopted. His colleague, Senator Tillman, of course condemned it, but Senator Tillman is the foremost representative of economic radicalism in the South. On the other hand, Senator Till-

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man's predecessor, ex-Senator Butler, the representative of the old régime in Carolina politics, warmly commends the position of Mr. McLaurin. "We have passed the point," he said, "when the white people from necessity were arrayed on one side to protect their civilization, with the negro race on the other, and we can now afford to divide upon paramount political issues." Ex-Senator Butler, it may be said, strongly champions the course of the Administration in the Philippines, but his view of the readiness of Southern people to divide upon new issues is in all respects corroborated by Southern Democrats who criticise this policy. Congressman Livingston, of Georgia, for example, says: "Among the bankers, railroad men, cotton manufacturers, and others interested in big business enterprises in the South, there are some who believe in the policies of the Republican party." . . . The negro question has kept them in the Democratic party, but, that out of the way, they are Republicans in their theories." Still more emphatically, Congressman Bankhead, of Alabama, declares that "there are many men of wealth and social and business prominence in the South who affiliate with the Democratic party under protest. . . . With the negro out of politics, I believe the time would come when Alabama would be divided between two great parties of nearly equal strength, and that elections would be determined there by the candidates and issues of the hour." Mr. Bryan himself recognizes the strength of the elements at the South which are against the principles he advocates. In last week's issue of the "Commoner" he says, in comment upon Senator McLaurin's speech:

> Some leader will arise to give direction and force to the aristocratic and plutocratic element for which Mr. McLaurin speaks. There is such an element in every community, and now that the race question no longer unifies the white people of the Southern States, it will doubtless manifest itself. Senator Tillman has already taken up the gage of battle thrown down by Senator McLaurin, and will doubtless be able to marshal a considerable majority in that State, but the same influences are at work in other States where there is greater danger of their success. A white Republican party in the South may bring some compensation, in that it is likely to divide the colored vote in the North and answer the argument of those Northern Republicans who have been able to give no better reason for remaining with their party than that the South was solidly Democratic.

In case the promised division in the race vote takes place South and North, it will help both races in both sections by placing political life upon a rational basis.

❀

The Texas Oil Excitement The recent oil discoveries in Texas have produced an excitement in that State which recalls that produced by the similar discoveries in western Pennsylvania a generation ago. During the past three months, says an Austin despatch of last week, two hundred new oil companies have been incorporated, the capitalization of a single company often exceeding a million dollars. In nearly all cases part of the stock has been put on the market, at prices sometimes as low as ten cents a share, and visions of sudden wealth have made epidemic among even the very poor a form of gambling usually confined to the well-to-do. According to the New York "Evening Post," some of these companies in their advertisements of stock do not even mention the location of their properties, while others try to give an impression of solidity by adopting names like the Rockefeller Company or the Stevenville Standard Oil Company. In both of the last named the investor may acquire a share for ten cents, as against the eight hundred dollars he would have to pay for a share in the original Standard Oil Company. Of course the "investments" are gambling pure and simple—and especially simple. When the oil properties have value, the owners try to develop them themselves, with the aid of a few financiers and men skilled in the business. The amount of capital required is not often large, and therefore stock is rarely put upon the market except at a higher figure than any one who has looked into the property is willing to pay. Those who buy the stock for speculation are entirely at the mercy of the managers, who can take part in the game knowing exactly how the cards are placed. These obvious considerations, however are insufficient to stop a craze when every one knows that oil has been found in enormous quantities, and that some people have suddenly become rich. It is possible that the Texas oil territory will

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prove as rich as that in Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania, it will be recalled, the discovery came just when the new war tax on alcohol more than quadrupled its price, and made the demand for a cheap burning fluid a pressing one throughout the North. The experiences of that day made the expression "strike oil" the synonym for the sudden acquirement of wealth—Mr. Carnegie, among others, having had his fortune multiplied by sharing in the $40,000 investment in the Storey farm, from which dividends of a million a year were soon extracted. The knowledge that such things are possible seems to deprive whole communities of their reason, so that probabilities are never measured, and men are ready to invest one dollar in the hope of ten even when they know that the chances are a hundred to one that they will get nothing.

❀

The Leyland Line Last week the control of the Leyland line of steamers was acquired by Mr. J. P. Morgan, acting for American interests. This is one of the great steamship lines in the world, and its acquisition, even at a price nearly one-half more than it had been previously considered to be worth, has apparently rather frightened our English cousins. Such a well-balanced sheet as the London "Telegraph" says that, after the masterstroke "by which one of the most important of our merchant fleets has been transferred, what position in the whole field of British commerce can be considered secure from the enveloping strategy of the organizer of the steel trust, who, it must be admitted, has acquired a better claim to the title of the Bonaparte of trade than has any other figure of modern industry? . . . A few transfers like that of the Leyland Line will menace the commercial supremacy of Great Britain as it never yet has been menaced." We fail to see how the acquisition of funds enough to replace the Leyland ships and nearly half as many more challenges British supremacy. The rest of the "Telegraph's" remarks are more to the point: "America has superseded our agriculture, beaten our coal output, left us far behind in the production of iron and steel, and has passed us at last in the total volume of exports. She has only commenced her final onslaught on our carrying trade, and, with these beginnings, we may wonder that, if such things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry." It is true that ocean-carriage is the only department in which the gigantic expansion of our commercial control has not made itself felt. The editors of other English papers review the situation in the same gloomy way; they see the British flag driven not only off the Atlantic but off the Pacific. They are united in recognizing the natural and many other advantages of the United States, and in declaring that there is now a necessity to put more brains and more energy into English work, for "it is now a question of the survival of the fittest." Perhaps, after all, add they, wistfully, Englishmen have only flagged a little, owing to a false sense of security arising from years of commercial supremacy. This whole tone of criticism appears to us to be based on a false conception of commerce as a kind of war, whereas it is in fact a form of service, and the competition in commerce is or should be a generous rivalry in the promotion of the world's welfare.

❀

The English Coal Tax Resisted Opposition to the export tax on coal, from which Sir Michael Hicks-Beach plans to raise $10,000,000 a year toward meeting the expenses of the Boer war, has assumed portentous proportions. During last week it threatened to take upon itself dramatic form, as the officers of the Miners' Federation, at a meeting in London, recommended that all the miners in the United Kingdom—three-quarters of a million in number—should stop work until the proposed tax was withdrawn. This proposition, however, by the union rules, was subject to a referendum to the local organizations, and the votes taken on Saturday showed that in two great districts at least—Derbyshire and Yorkshire—a majority were against the strike, while in most of the others the vote was merely to support the position finally taken by the national organization. The mine-owners also are uncertain whether they desire the men to take such extreme action—especially as its political effect might be to prejudice the nation against the demands of the mining interests. In

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Parliament, however, the debate upon the innovation has given new life to the opposition, and even lent currency to rumors of an approaching dissolution. When the debate began on Friday evening, Sir William Harcourt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Gladstone's last Cabinet, arraigned the proposed tax as "an extraordinary and vexatious piece of bungling," which would throw the coal trade into chaos and bring about a reduction in the wages of English miners. It was nonsense, he said, to assert that the foreigner would pay the tax because he must have English coal. Already, he declared, the trade of France was equally divided between England, Germany, and Belgium. At this Sir Michael Hicks-Beach interjected, "We are beating the others;" to which Sir William replied, "Then go on beating them; why throw a shilling into the scale against this country?" In Sir Michael's reply he admitted that the coal tax, like every other tax, was an obstruction to trade, but he had little patience with the claim that the coal industry was not able to bear a part of the taxation needed by the country. The coal-owners of the United Kingdom last year, he declared, made a profit of $145,000,000 upon a capital of $550,000,000. The new tax, furthermore, would rest upon the foreign consumers, since the United States had been unable to get any part of England's export trade, even last year, when English coal was much dearer than now. With a shilling a ton added to the present price of English coal, it could still be sold for less than American coal, and therefore would be bought in preference. Upon this point Sir Michael Hicks-Beach seemed to have the best of the argument, so far as the immediate effect of the tax was concerned, but the future development of England's export coal trade is none the less surely threatened by the tax proposed, and the discrimination against a particular industry which the coal tax involves runs counter to the fundamental principle that taxation should rest equally upon all.

❀

The Prussian Crisis Last week the Nestor of Prussian politics, Johannes von Miquel, resigned the office which he has so long adorned, that of Finance Minister of Prussia. Dr. von Miquel has recently been regarded, first, as the one man in Prussia and in Germany to carry out the Kaiser's ambitious design for extending the canal system, and, second, as the most prominent candidate in the Imperial Chancellorship succession. Last week, however, the Prussian Ministry sustained a defeat in the Prussian Landtag or Parliament, and this was followed by the resignation of Dr. von Miquel and two other Ministers. The ex-Minister of Finance was once a revolutionist; this was in 1848, that year of revolutions. Then he quieted down somewhat and became a Radical, then a Liberal, then a Liberal Conservative, and finally a Tory of the William II. order. To-day Dr. von Miquel is one of the most picturesque characters in Germany, certainly a different character from the twenty year-old youth expelled from the Fatherland. His special ability has been shown in his wonderful knowledge of finance, and his energy in carrying out his financial principles. An even greater honor, however, attaches to the fact that he was one of the first exponents of German unity, advocating it even when Bismarck was opposed to it. The defeat of the Emperor's canal measure, is, we believe, only temporary. The connection of the Rhine and the Elbe, the Oder and the Vistula, is too definitely profitable a plan not to appeal to all German industrialists. It is absolutely necessary for them to have easy transportation, and it is as necessary for them to have cheap foodstuffs. The canals will solve both problems, hence industrialists are in favor of the Kaiser's project. Here they meet the opposition of the Agrarians, in other words, the agriculturists, who represent both the upper and the lower ten of society, together with much of its wealth and many of its vested interests. The Agrarians are admirably organized in their campaign to raise the duties on all imported foodstuffs. It is thus a battle of giants that we see in Prussia to-day. For the moment the victory is with the Agrarians.

❀

Famine in China Last week definite information confirmed the rumors recently current of terrible famine in the two provinces of Shansi and Shensi, China. These are mountainous regions lying west

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of the coast province of Chili, in which the capital city of Peking is situated. It is even claimed that the people of Shansi and Shensi have been reduced to eating the bark on the trees. Mr. Conger, United States Minister to China, who has now arrived in this country, says that nothing has been raised in the stricken provinces for two years, and, unless relief is quickly forthcoming, many must perish. He recommends that money be sent to the United States Consuls at Shanghai and Tientsin, and to the heads of missions in the provinces. He adds that the Chinese Government and the Chinese people will be duly appreciative and grateful, that in any event the demands of humanity will be answered, and that future good will result. Mr. Conger, Secretary Hay, and President McKinley have each contributed to the fund already started with characteristic energy by the "Christian Herald," of New York City. While China has generally a rainfall larger than that of western Europe, conditions in the provinces of Shansi and Shensi begin to approach those of the neighboring and arid Mongolia to the north. Any relief measures undertaken by the Chinese Government would be inadequate and unsystematic; in any event, at the present time, with the entire absorption of the Government in other pressing matters, particularly in that of the indemnity to be paid to the foreign Powers, the horrors of famine are augmented.

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The Missionaries in China

If any of our readers are still in doubt whether the course of Dr. Ament and Dr. Tewksbury in China deserves criticism or commendation, we advise them to read with care the article by Dr. Arthur H. Smith in this week's Outlook, and the article by Dr. Judson Smith in the "North American Review" for May. It is not necessary for us to summarize the latter article here, since in the main it simply confirms the statement of facts as made by us in the editorial entitled "Missionaries in China" in our issue for April 13. There are, however, some additional facts of significance stated by Dr. Judson Smith, and his entire statement must be regarded as authoritative, because it comes from one who has had every opportunity to acquaint himself fully with the facts. The most important of these statements is that the settlements made by Dr. Ament and Mr. Tewksbury with the village authorities were with the approval of Mr. Conger, the United States Minister, Mr. Rockhill, the special United States Commissioner, and Li-Hung-Chang, the Governor of the Province. The allied Powers, it appears, decided that they could do nothing for the Christian Chinese, and therefore, if they were not to be left to die of starvation, provision must be made through the instrumentality of the missionaries. The New York "Sun," which in this matter is looking for a dishonest man as eagerly as Diogenes with his lantern ever looked for an honest one, seems to imagine that there is an inconsistency between Dr. Judson Smith's statement that the indemnity secured by the missionaries was "not for themselves, not for the mission, let it be clearly understood, but solely and simply for the Chinese who were dependent on them," and the statement by Mr. Tewksbury of the basis on which the village indemnities were paid, which included the provisions that "any balance after claims are paid to be used as designated by the church," and, "if desired by us, in any village where disturbances have occurred, a suitable location shall be provided for the Christian chapel." But it is perfectly clear from the context that the "church" here referred to is the village church which had been impoverished or destroyed. The indemnities in all cases went, not to the missionaries nor to the Missionary Board, but to the Chinese Christians themselves who had been despoiled by the mobs. "Not a penny," says Dr. Judson Smith, "has been asked or used for missionary losses of any kind."

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The Philippines

The surrender of General Alejandrino has been followed by that of General Tinio, who has long been carrying on an active insurgent campaign in the province of South Ilocos. Tinio is the man who held Lieutenant Gilmore and his men prisoners, and is said to have ordered them shot after they were turned adrift. It is also reported by General MacArthur that organized opposition in the island of Panay has

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been ended by the surrender of Quentin Sales. Minor items of news of similar purport come from other parts of the archipelago, together with one report of a fierce fight between a hundred insurgents and twenty-one men of our forces under Captain McDonald, in which that officer was wounded and an American soldier killed; the insurgents were defeated. Brigadier-General Bell, who has just arrived in this country from the Philippines, said to an interviewer: "One-sixth of the natives of Luzon have either been killed or have died of the dengue fever in the last two years. The loss of life by killing alone has been very great, but I think that not one man has been slain except where his death served the legitimate purposes of war. It has been necessary to adopt what in other countries would probably be thought harsh measures, for the Filipino is tricky and crafty, and has to be fought in his own way." The trial of Captain James C. Reed at Manila on charges of soliciting and receiving bribes for wrong disposition of commissary stores has been concluded, but the verdict is not known at this writing.

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The New President of Barnard College

Miss Laura D. Gill was formally installed President of Barnard College in this city on Wednesday afternoon of last week, Brinkerhoff Hall being crowded with an academic audience, duly gowned, and pervaded by a spirit of generous welcome for the new head of the institution. After a short prayer offered by Bishop Potter, President Low, on behalf of Columbia University, and after due commemoration of the admirable services to Barnard College of Miss Ella Weed and Miss Emily James Smith (now Mrs. George Haven Putnam), formally welcomed Miss Gill to her new work. Professor Robinson, who has been the Acting Dean since the retirement of Mrs. Putnam, extended a welcome on behalf of the faculty, Miss Virginia Gildersleeve on behalf of the alumnæ, and Miss Florence Sanville on behalf of the undergraduates. Miss Gill's address was brief, and was an expression of her spirit and her ideals rather than a definition of her methods. It was marked by clearness of statement, soundness of view, and a broad human conception of the ends of education. She said:

> In a very broad view we may look upon education as any training by which are developed individual power and poise. By power I mean the capacity to clearly concentrate and steadily accomplish a given end. But this force should be regulated by a sense of proportion and good judgment which may be expressed by the word poise. The aim of a college is more than intellectual, it is moral and spiritual as well. To this end the social life of a college must represent the truest democracy, and the religious life of a college should be as catholic as the social life is democratic. A college must recognize also much broader obligations—service to the community. Woman's influence will be as broad as her intelligence makes it. Here in Barnard your effectiveness is aided by a consolidation of like forces.

Miss Gill is a graduate of Smith College, has made an extraordinary record during the last two years in philanthropic and educational work in Cuba, and enters upon her new work with every promise of eminent usefulness.

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The Society for Ethical Culture

On Friday evening of last week the New York Society for Ethical Culture, founded and still directed by Dr. Felix Adler, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Mr. Salter, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Weston, the leaders of the daughter societies in Chicago, St. Louis, and Philadelphia, were present, and letters were received from the kindred associations in Europe, all of which owe their establishment to the impulse given by the parent organization. Mr. Percival Chubb, Dr. John L. Elliott, and two of the officers, reviewed slightly the work of the Society, how its disclosure of the tenement-house conditions led to the appointment of the first Tenement-House Commission, and how the pedagogical methods introduced in its schools had been adopted by the public schools of the city. A pleasant interlude occurred when a young girl in a simple white gown stepped on the platform, whose occupants rose to greet her, and presented, in behalf of the alumni and pupils of the Ethical Culture Schools, a silver wreath, as a token of the reverence and affection felt by those who had come up from the kindergarten through the industrial and literary training of the schools, for the Society which had made their training possible. As the leaders from the other

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cities paid heartfelt tribute to the inspiration and light Dr. Adler had given them, one might have wondered how the quiet man sitting there, apart from the hallowed tradition and quickening of the churches, had been able to give so much; but when he arose to speak, and gave expression to the passion for righteousness which has animated all his work, it could be understood. Dr. Adler spoke of what the visiting delegates had accomplished, making their societies in the different cities instruments for civic righteousness, and said: "If any word uttered on this platform has been of helpfulness, it is because the Ideal has used me." He touched on the aims of the Society, its desire for truth and for service to humanity, its emphasis on democratic equality, on the fact that no front pews were to be bought by the man of wealth, and that he who contributes his dollar a year and he who gives of his bounty are as brothers. He told of the failure predicted when the Society was started, by those who said that, after the novelty had worn off, no group of people would come to hear lectures on mere morality, and spoke of the respect and recognition which had been won from the community. Notable in such a meeting was the absence of any note of self-glorification and of any attitude of antagonism toward orthodox institutions, and all present went away inspired and encouraged in the belief that there is a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness—a power which works irrespective of the limits of creeds and theological differences.

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Union Theological Seminary A fortnight ago The Outlook reported the difficulty which four members of the present Senior Class of the Union Theological Seminary had with the examining bodies. These bodies declare that the difficulty was not theological but intellectual, and that their action was in the interest of scholarship. Since then five candidates for licenses from that class and two from other institutions have successfully passed examinations by the Brooklyn Presbytery. The examiners declared themselves not concerned about what special collateral views may have been encouraged in the students in interpreting Scripture, provided that the students held to the main points of belief current among Presbyterians. At the close one of the examiners remarked that, though the students had shown themselves sound on the main points, there was an observable fringe of individual opinions, all of which were not, however, such as could be regarded as unsound. The spirit both of the Presbytery and the candidates, on what has been until recently a burning question in both the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations, was indicated by the following question and answer in the case of one candidate: "Where would you class a man like Socrates?" "I think I would leave him to the mercy of God."

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Dr. Parker's Proposal The most important feature of the Joint Assembly of the Congregational and Baptist Union in England, which has just been in session, was the proposal made by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker, Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, looking towards a union of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist bodies of England on lines similar to those adopted in the recent union of the Free Churches of Scotland. Dr. Parker urges the members of the Free Churches to unite in providing a theological education for their respective ministers, so both economizing expenditure and increasing results. In his idea, the united body of Free Churches should establish a ministerial sustentation fund, which should preserve the individuality of each church. Three high-grade colleges at Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham would replace the present eight existing theological colleges belonging to the above-mentioned denominations. Both economy of management and greater working power would be secured by the application to the religious world of that spirit of combination which has already achieved such success in the commercial world. If Dr. Parker's proposal is accepted, as we hope it may be, English Dissent may date a significant development from the 1901 meeting of the Baptist and Congregational Union. The plan has features in it worthy of the consideration of our own denominations, which enfeeble theological education by the multiplication of sectarian theological seminaries.

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Canon Gore and "Catholicism" Canon Gore's recent book on the Lord's Supper, "The Body of Christ," has grieved but not dismayed the representatives of a portion of the High Church party in England. In it he affirms that there is no repetition in the Eucharist of the Sacrifice upon the Cross; that the early Church fathers, as Chrysostom and others, would have resisted the idea that Christ is made present on the altar under the forms of bread and wine; that Christ's presence in the Sacrament is spiritual; and that his intention was that it should be eaten, not reserved as an object of worship. These statements so antagonize the Anglo-Catholic position that they are received by its representative journal—"The Church Review"—with "the profoundest grief." But this grief seems to be, not for any damage wrought, but for Canon Gore, whom the Review regards as having simply seceded from a venerable fellowship. "If there was ever any doubt about it, Canon Gore's absolute severance from anything that can be called Catholicism is made open and indisputable." What "Catholicism" holds precious he has dared to speak of as "the gross and horrible doctrine" of literal transubstantiation. Canon Gore is a conspicuous leader in the High Church party, and is also a notable scholar in patristic literature; however Protestants may differ from his interpretation of the New Testament, as we certainly do, there is no man in the English Church more competent to declare with a scholar's authority what is the teaching of the Fathers. His book is to the Anglo-Catholics a severe blow.

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Auguste Sabatier Auguste Sabatier, who died in Paris last week, was one of three men of eminence who bore the name, all of whom were in a high degree representative of the spirit and genius of the Huguenot Church. Paul Sabatier became widely known in this country a few years since by his admirable "Life of St. Francis of Assisi;" Armand Sabatier is perhaps the most distinguished biologist in France. Auguste Sabatier, the most eminent of the three, was born in a region which saw the fiercest Huguenot resistance to the repressive policy of Louis XIV. He studied at Montauban and in Germany, in many departments connected with Biblical history, criticism, and theology. In 1866 he was made Professor of Theology in the Protestant Faculty at Strasbourg, but when the French Strasbourg became the German Strassburg the French theological faculty was removed to Paris, and M. Sabatier with it. He became its Dean, securing for it in large measure a prestige due chiefly though not exclusively to his character and genius. He was a brilliant writer, especially strong in characterization, a very deeply interesting and even inspiring talker, and a teacher of singular power. His weekly contributions to the "Journal de Genève" and his articles in "Le Temps" gave him frequent and regular access to a public which he deeply influenced. The most notable of his books are "The Apostle Paul" and "Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion," in which he endeavored to formulate that philosophy upon a psychological and historical basis. In both these books he applied the principle of evolution, in the one case to the writings of the Apostle, in the other case to the interpretation of a theistic and Christian philosophy, showing the superiority of the Christian philosophy as the final stage in the development of that religious consciousness of mankind on which all religion is based. One of his recent distinctions was his appointment by the Minister of Education as a member of the Committee on Education. He has held a very important place in the Councils of the University of Paris; and among French Protestants probably no one has held a more influential position. The French newspapers, in their comments upon his death, place him in the first rank of theologians of the age; they declare that his life gave the impression of unusual richness, and that he made himself the defender of justice and of truth with distinction and eloquence.

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Cardinal-Elect Martinelli Last week Count Colacicchi, a member of the Pontifical Noble Guard, arrived in this country from Rome, bearing with him a *zuchetto*, or Cardinal's skull-cap, and a Papal bull of nomination to Monsignor Martinelli, the present Apostolic Delegate to the United States. A day

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later, in Washington, Count Colacicchi delivered these to the Cardinal-elect, who has now taken the oath of his new office. The oath was administered by Dr. Conaty, Rector of the American Catholic University at Washington. The Pope's nomination is significant, as it follows the nomination to the cardinalate of Monsignor Martinelli's predecessor as Papal Delegate to this country. When Monsignor (now Cardinal) Satolli arrived here, perhaps proximately not so much to establish a Papal legation as to unite two factions in the Roman Catholic Church, it was believed by many that, with characteristic acuteness, Leo XIII. would lose no opportunity to show to the American people his appreciation of the dignity of the office of Delegate. He has now done so by the honors paid to the first two Delegates to this country. Last week also witnessed another evidence of the Pontiff's favor towards America, in the elevation of the Rev. Dr. Rooker, Secretary to the Apostolic Delegation at Washington, to be Private Chamberlain to the Pope. Dr. Rooker is the first Churchman, not an Italian, to receive this honor.

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Causes of American Characteristics

Professor E. A. Ross's brilliant paper on "The Causes of Race Superiority," which attracted marked attention at the recent meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science at Philadelphia, contained several striking observations upon the causes of the characteristics which distinguish our own people. Professor Ross's central thought, it may be said, was the essential unity of mankind and the tendency of the present Darwinian reaction to exaggerate race differences as much as the philosophy of a century ago minimized them. In discussing American traits he showed that in the main they are the traits which have distinguished the colonists of every race. The pioneer work for every race, he said, has been performed, not by the ablest or highest-bred, but by the strongest and most enterprising. The Dutch in South Africa are reputed to be of finer physique than the Dutch in Holland, and in America before the days of exaggerated immigration the emigrants were physically taller than the people from whom they sprung. "By measurements taken during the Civil War the Scotch in America were found to exceed their countrymen by two inches. . . . Comparative weights tell the same tale. Of the recruits in our Civil War the New Englanders weighed 140 pounds, the Middle States men 141 pounds, the Ohioans 145 pounds, and the Kentuckians 150. Conversely, where, as in Sardinia, the population is the leavings of continued emigration, the stature is extraordinarily low." These physical characteristics, however, are less important factors than the mental characteristics which pioneer life demands and develops. The chief of these are self-reliance and energy, and both of these in America have been intensified by the sense of responsibility which political democracy has imposed upon all classes, and the sense of hopefulness which social democracy has given to the very poorest. Professor Ross, we may note in conclusion, has been elected Professor of Sociology in the University of Nebraska, and Lecturer on Sociology at Harvard, so that his independence at Leland Stanford has not injured his career, may rather be said to have promoted him and enlarged his influence and power.

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Education South and North

The letter of Dr. Merrill which we publish on another page appears to us to represent a certain unintentional injustice toward the South not uncommon in the North, and especially among those who feel most deeply the wrongs which the colored race have suffered and who are most eager to help that race to a higher life and a greater prosperity. Lest we be misunderstood, we desire at the outset of this article to give expression of our admiration for Fisk University, in whose work the citizens of Nashville take a pride second only to that which they take in its sister institution for whites, Vanderbilt University, and our honor for Dr. Merrill and his associates in the splendid work to which they have given themselves and the unselfish and heroic spirit in which they are carrying it on.

Doubtless the education of both blacks

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and whites of the poorer class in the South is lamentably deficient. The school-houses are often poor, the teachers ill educated, the school term too short to accomplish good results, the curriculum ill adapted to present needs. But no one feels this more keenly or is more ready to acknowledge and lament it than the intelligent Southerner; and nowhere is there a more vigorous, self-denying endeavor to make improvements in all these respects than in the Southern States. Left by the war bankrupt, not only in money but in educational institutions, without school-houses, school-teachers, a school system, or school experience, the South rejected the counsels of the irreconcilables who had learned nothing and desired to perpetuate in freedom the conditions created by slavery, and the counsels of the pessimists who believed that nothing could be done for the colored race and that it was not worth while trying, and set itself, with a courage almost if not quite without a parallel, to the work of social, industrial, and educational reconstruction. It began to rebuild its devastated towns and rehabilitate its abandoned and desolated plantations; to reconstruct its entire industrial system on a new basis and out of unpromising materials; to provide out of private charity for its disabled veterans, while paying its quota of expense entailed by National taxation for the Federal veterans; to originate and develop manufactures never before known or even conceived as practicable in the South; to meet as best it could the increased demand made by the results of the war for home missionary work and for hospitals and orphanages; and to create in some instances, in others to re-establish, higher institutions of learning for the education of its youth of both sexes. That it undertook at such a time the construction of a common-school system for the primary and secondary education of all its children of both races, and that it divided its school fund between them impartially in the proportions of their need, not of their contributions to it, deserves a cordial and hearty recognition from all men. It constitutes a fact of which Americans have a right to be proud. If the school-houses are often poor, they were built out of the poverty of the people; if the teachers are sometimes incompetent, they are the best that could be secured without a previous system of instruction; if the school terms are often short, they are generally all the people think they can pay for; if the curricula are sometimes ill constructed, they were constructed out of inexperience; if the community has been sometimes inclined to vacillate between courses of study too purely literary and courses of study too purely industrial, the vacillation is shared by other communities both in the North and in England. Despite all drawbacks, the fact remains that substantially the same education, in extent if not always in quality, has been provided by the State in all the common grades for both races.

We do not propose here to present a scheme of public education in a paragraph. But we may at least propound two principles which we think are too often ignored in the discussion of the question what should be the education of the colored race. We agree absolutely with our correspondent that there should be no race in education, and no discrimination against the colored people in the educational provision made for all its people by the State. We have said this recently so emphatically that we need not elaborate the declaration here; though it is just to add that we believe that our conviction on this subject is shared by the great mass of educators in the South, and by the great mass of the people in so far as they have thought on the subject at all. But educational provisions should always be adapted to the present condition and the immediate needs of the pupils. The first need of the great majority of the people of the United States, black and white, North and South, is ability to earn their own livelihood, because the first duty of every man is to support himself by his productive industry. And while it is true that there must always be some lawyers, doctors, ministers, and writers, and a great many teachers, it is also true that there must be a great many more men who earn their livelihood by some form of handicraft. We would have our common-school system, North and South, recognize this fact. We would have manual training enter into every school and form a necessary part of its curriculum, from the kindergarten to the high school. We would have it as

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essential a part of public-school education as reading, writing, and arithmetic. We repudiate the sedulously cultivated notion that a man is truly well educated who can use his hands only to hold a book, and his eyes only to read it. We would attach industrial education to every district school, if its sole agricultural equipment were a spade and the only exercise its use in converting the desolate school yard into a flower garden, its sole mechanical equipment a plane, a saw, a hammer and some nails, and the only exercise some repairs on the ill-built and out-of-repair school-house, its sole domestic equipment a needle and thread and the only exercise repairs on the ragged gowns of the girls. We would do this in Massachusetts and New York as well as in Alabama and Georgia. The notion that industrial training is an inferior sort of education, and the notion that it should be a class education, we emphatically repudiate.

The other fundamental principle is that the only limits to education are those set by the capacity of the pupil to receive and appropriate on the one hand, and the ability of the educator to provide, on the other. How far the State should go in providing education is a difficult question; we do not here discuss it. But no educational system should assume that because a child is poor or is an Italian or a Chinaman or an African, therefore he cannot benefit by the highest education he can get. His first duty is to get an education in those things which will enable him to support himself; that done, the way should be open for him to get whatever other education he can utilize, and, if it be beyond the province of the State to provide, he or his friends can pay for. If there are any people in the South who desire to limit the education of the colored people to the handicrafts, on the double ground that industrial education is an inferior kind of education and the colored race is an inferior kind of race, we oppose them on both propositions: we maintain that industrial education, properly comprehended, is as high as the highest, and that the colored people are entitled to get from the State as good an education as the State gives to any of her citizens, in so far as they can appropriate and make it their own. On the other hand, those, both North and South, who desire to see industrial education made a component part of our public-school system, those who, if they must choose between sacrificing the literary and professional education of the few or the practical education of the many, prefer the former alternative, we believe will be found in the result wiser statesmen, truer philanthropists, and saner educators than those who consciously or unconsciously so shape educational systems as to create the impression that hard labor is somehow menial and literary labor alone genteel.

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A Dangerous Time

The transactions in the Stock Exchange on Wall Street last week were the largest in the history of the country, and the largest in the history of any exchange. That there has been a great and substantial advance in values is beyond question, and while there may be in the future serious reactions, the condition of the country justifies the belief that values of all well-managed properties have advanced permanently, and that the wealth of the country in all departments is greater than it has ever been before. Those who go into Wall Street, therefore, for the sake of making investments are taking advantage, in a normal and legitimate way, of the rapidly increasing resources of the Nation.

But there is a great difference between buying for investment—that is to say, buying with relation to actual values—and buying for purposes of speculation—that is, buying on the strength of the value of the day, in the belief that the value will be increased to-morrow, and that the purchaser can then sell at a profit. This often means buying what one has not the money to pay for, and selling what one does not possess; it is gambling, pure and simple. Such gambling always accompanies a great rise of values. The substantial purchasers who deal with realities are surrounded by a hoard of speculators, usually of small means, with narrow margins which they cannot afford to lose, who play the game in Wall Street precisely as professional gamblers play it around the roulette or card table. One day last week, when the excitement was at its height, a young girl of fine instincts

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was taken to the Stock Exchange, and looked down for the first time upon the turmoil of one of the most extraordinary days in the history of the Exchange. Her comment when she came away was, "It is one of the saddest sights I have ever seen." There is something profoundly saddening in the spectacle of the mad rush and whirl of a great speculative movement, when men seem to part with their sanity and rush at prospective profits with a kind of unhuman intensity. The most significant thing in last week's history in Wall Street for the sober-minded and thoughtful observer was the fact that on Friday the values of many stocks fell from sheer physical exhaustion of traders and the inability of the machinery of the Exchange to deal with the enormous volume of transactions.

We have come to a perilous stage in the present rise of values—the stage at which sober men are apt to lose their judgment, and young men, who have not yet arrived at years of judgment, are likely to entangle themselves, perhaps for life. It is a good time for all men who do not intend to purchase for investment, or who have not abundant means to lose, to keep away from Wall Street. Nothing is more demoralizing than the gambling mania, the desire to secure large returns without commensurate effort and without the long patience and waiting which the accumulation of wealth by legitimate means involves. Magical stories of sudden turns of fortune are in the air; one overhears young men recounting Arabian Night tales of fortunes made in an hour. It is a time to turn a deaf ear to all these temptations. If the stocks were suddenly to fall, there would come to light at this moment a great many defalcations; for men of excellent impulses are tempted at such a time to risk money which is not their own. The gambling mania is as old as humanity; it is felt by all classes, but especially by people of leisure. During the past two years there has been an outbreak of gambling of very serious extent among certain fashionable sets. Dr. Huntington's timely word in a sermon preached in this city during the winter called attention to an evil the existence of which has been recognized by sober-minded women in fashionable circles, who have striven to stem the tide by individual effort and sometimes by organization. Nothing is more frightful in its vulgarity and general demoralization than a woman, turned gambler, buying her wardrobe or gaining an additional sum for personal expenses by her winnings at cards; and yet this is precisely the way in which some fashionable women have been making money during the last few years. This means not only loss of character, but loss of youth and of beauty; it means nervous exhaustion and kindred physical ills; for the gambling mania, when once it has seized its victim, is like the opium habit—extremely difficult to shake off, and involving in the end absolute disintegration of the moral nature. Mature men of means, young men generally, and all women, should carefully guard their sanity while values are rising and not attempt to gain by gambling that success which ought to come only as the fruit of foresight, intelligence, energy, and patience.

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Degrees and Public Men

While the question whether the degree of LL.D. should be given to President McKinley by Harvard University was still unsettled, The Outlook took no part in that discussion, because it appears to us that there are some questions which are not to be determined by the press. Such is the question whether a particular university shall give a particular degree to a particular man. This may properly be left to the authorities of the university, without counsel from the omnisicient newspaper. But now that it is unofficially announced that the authorities have unanimously agreed to confer the title on President McKinley, the occasion seems appropriate for the expression of some opinion respecting the significance of such degrees and the principle upon which in general they should be granted. An honorary degree never ought to be given to a man simply because he holds a high public office. This principle was affirmed by Harvard in its refusal to grant a degree of LL.D. to Benjamin F. Butler. He had done nothing, in the opinion of the University authorities, to entitle him to the honor, and the mere fact that he had been elected a Governor of the State did not entitle him to it. An honorary

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degree should always indicate eminence in some department of life acquired by the individual on whom it is conferred. Thus D.D. should indicate that he has acquired eminence in theology, Litt.D. in literature, Sc.D. in science. Properly speaking, LL.D. should indicate that the recipient has rendered eminent service either in the making, the interpretation, or the administration of laws, though the title has now, we think unfortunately, acquired a wider significance, and is often given to a man who has rendered eminent service in any department of life to which no other title is peculiarly apt.

The question whether the university granting the degree concurs with the opinions which the recipient of the degree entertains and represents has nothing whatever to do with the propriety of granting the degree. The university authorities have not to consider whether he is right or wrong, but whether he is eminent or uneminent. Otherwise, liberal theologians would vote against granting the degree of D.D. to a conservative theologian, and conservative theologians against granting D.D. to a liberal theologian; the Darwinian would refuse an honorary title to Agassiz, and the disciple of Agassiz would refuse it to Darwin. In other words, if the correctness of opinion, not the eminence of the service, is to be taken account of, the honorary degree would signify simply that the university granting the title concurs with the recipient of the title in the opinions which he represents.

To apply these principles by way of illustration: Benjamin F. Butler was a shrewd and successful practitioner; but he had never attained eminence either as a maker, an interpreter, or an administrator of laws, such as entitled him to be honored with the honorary degree of LL.D. by the University of Harvard for the services which he had rendered. On the other hand, Mr. McKinley is eminent throughout the world as the representative of the idea of a high protective tariff and of the expansion policy lately initiated in this country. To deny his world-wide eminence as a leader in these two National policies is to deny the most patent fact in recent history. To refuse to grant him the degree of LL.D. because his critics think there ought not to be a high protective tariff—a position which The Outlook has always held—or that there ought not to be an expansion policy, is to misinterpret the function of the university in such a matter, and the significance of the degree which it bestows. Let us add that if all degree-granting institutions would confine their giving of degrees to those who had already attained eminence, and would never bestow them simply for the purpose of giving eminence, American degrees would be far more significant than they are to-day.

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A Southern Poet

The unveiling of a statue of Henry Timrod in his native city, Charleston, on Wednesday of last week, was a tardy recognition of one of the truest lyric poets that has yet appeared in this country. In certain respects Timrod was the most characteristic of the Southern poets; one whose ideals, temperament, imagination, and character were representative of the best and the most distinctive qualities of Southern life. Timrod's voice was the first from the Far South to sound a new note in our poetry. He was born in one of the most interesting and distinctive of Southern cities, in a community which possessed the keenest sense of local solidarity. In the air of Charleston, in the first quarter of the century, the moral fervor of the Huguenot—the Southern Puritan—had passed into a passion of loyalty to the tradition and inheritance of a community touched from the beginning with the grace and light of idealism in faith and manners. There was in the Charleston of that time an old-fashioned culture of a very genuine quality; a culture which held to the best traditions of the earlier classical education and of the eighteenth-century English writers; a culture which was manifested, not in breadth of thought and keen intellectual curiosity, but in refinement and delicacy of mind, in cultivated tastes, and in an urbanity of manner and spirit which is the best evidence of a true social culture. There was also in the community, in Timrod's youth, a group of men of marked intellectual and poetic tastes who formed a coterie and sustained one another in their literary aspirations and dreams; of this little

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company Timrod, Paul Hamilton Hayne, and W. Gilmore Simms were foremost.

Timrod was a sensitive child, who was fortunate, like Goethe and many another boy of poetic temperament, in finding in his mother a visible providence of the imagination—one who recognized the double parentage of her child, and made him at home in the world of nature and sentiment, of beauty and gladness, where the born poets are trained. He was of a sensitive spirit, shy in the presence of others, but impetuous and frank with a friend, and a passionate lover of nature. His college opportunities were meager, but he early found his way to the best literature, and made his friends especially among the Latin and English poets. He tried to be a lawyer, but soon discovered his blunder, and became a teacher by vocation and a poet by avocation.

The sky was already beginning to darken with the clouds of civil strife when Timrod entered upon his active life, and there was but a brief interval before the bursting of the storm. The first edition of his poems was published in Boston in 1860, and found instant recognition in the North, where he would have had a generous hearing and a large audience if the arts had not suddenly been thrust into the background by the approach of war. No poet in the country was more deeply moved by that struggle; to no poet did it bring more definite inspirations; from no poet did it evoke a truer lyrical note. Timrod's "Ethnogenesis," written while the first Southern Congress was debating, in February, 1861, the question of secession, may be taken as a prelude to the struggle, as Lowell's "Commemoration Ode" may be taken as its epilogue; between the two was created that splendid tradition of heroism which is not only a common inheritance for the whole country, but will be a perennial source of inspiration for the National poetry of the future. In "Carolina," a much longer poem, the lyrical passion of Timrod reaches its highest point; the misconceptions of the poem are part of the great misunderstanding of the time; its passionate fire, its lyrical charm, its pulse of stormy music, place it among the permanent contributions to American literature. In "The Cotton-Boll," in depth of thought, in comprehensiveness of imagination, and in beauty of style, Timrod touched his high-water mark. This poem, in its large and free movement of imagination, belongs, with Lanier's "Sunrise" and Whitman's "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," among the most original achievements of American poetry—rich alike in what it conserves and in what it promises. It is, however, as a song-writer that Timrod showed the greatest mastery of his art, and it is as a song-writer that he will live in the poetry of the future. The lines on the occasion of decorating the graves of the Confederate soldiers at Magnolia Grove Cemetery in 1867 are among the most perfect which have yet appeared in our poetry; the poem is one of the four or five songs of the war time which will be heard in the distant future.

High-minded, pure-minded, consecrated to his art, with all the charm of the Southern temperament and the generosity of the Southern nature, Timrod is one of the most attractive figures and one of the most pathetic in the brief history of our literature. The story of Southern poetry is tragic in its reiteration of the waste of war, the absence of opportunity, the lack of sympathetic fellowship; but it is conspicuous also for the uniform heroism, the singular beauty of nature, and the loyalty to art which have characterized the representative Southern singers. Timrod, Hayne, and Lanier were not only men of stainless life; there was a touch of the heroic in each of them. They have not yet come to their own. Caught up in the storm of war, or coming upon the scene in those terrible years which followed the war, when the South was prostrate and the continent was strewn with wreckage from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, they contended against terrible obstacles, and were denied the recognition, the comfort, and the ease of mind which ought to have been theirs for the freest development of their art. They belong as much to the North as to the South. Timrod especially appeals to the Northern reader by reason of his freedom of imagination, his power of surrender to emotion, and the chivalric note of his spirit.

The unveiling of the statue in Charleston is an evidence of local recognition; it is time that the Nation gave this pure-minded and generous-hearted Southern singer the reputation his work deserves.

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The Spectator

Is there the inspiration in the abundance of books to-day that there was in their scarcity of pre-library days? Does the "captain of industry," the modern type of hero, find, as Andrew Carnegie did, his first mental stimulus and satisfaction in some precious because rare volumes which chance or wise thoughtfulness had put in his way? In his boyhood the Spectator took it for granted that all properly developed careers of "self-made men" began with reading over and over two or three—never more than three—master works, borrowed as a great privilege, or bought at a great cost in toil and saving. That must have been an impression derived from the Spectator's first Life of Abraham Lincoln, perhaps "The Pioneer Boy," to fit in title "The Bobbin Boy" and "The Tanner Boy," a series of lives of Banks, Grant, and other war heroes, "adapted to the youthful mind," as the phrase used then to run. At any rate, whatever the name it answered to, that Life had a vivid picture of Lincoln, the tired but happy boy, stretched full length beside a blazing fire in a rude cabin reading and re-reading, by the firelight in general and one big pine-knot torch in particular, a copy of "Æsop's Fables" which he had borrowed of a friend by tramping twenty miles, ten to the friend's house and ten back. A new book got at that cost meant much, especially when the old books were only two, the Bible and "Pilgrim's Progress."

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The Spectator was sure that so strong a boyish impression was not wholly the product of that juvenile Life. So he turned to the second Life of Lincoln that he read, a sort of campaign work, whose author was J. G. Holland, given to the Spectator in 1866, so the fly-leaf records. How many of the numerous libraries that once "boasted" its conspicuous presence in covers of stamped leather, no longer hold a place for it in an obscure corner?—the Spectator wonders. Of all biographers Dr. Holland could be depended on most surely to more than point a moral, and so the Spectator turned the opening pages in assured expectancy and found this: "The books which Abraham [a modern biographer would be almost sure to say "the youthful Lincoln"] had the early privilege of reading were the Bible, much of which he could repeat, 'Æsop's Fables,' all of which he could repeat, Weems's 'Life of Washington,' and a 'Life of Henry Clay,' which his mother had managed to purchase for him." A few sentences down came the moral, rather neatly put: "For those who have witnessed the dissipating effects of many books upon the minds of modern children, it is not hard to believe that Abraham's poverty of books was the wealth of his life."

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Dr. Holland's book is really noteworthy for another thing—the "previousness" of its dedication to Andrew Johnson, "to whom Providence has assigned the completion of Abraham Lincoln's labors," with the prayer that "History, which will associate their names forever, may be able to find no seam where their administrations were joined, and mark no change of texture by which they may be contrasted." Was ever finely phrased sentiment, recorded with such impressive conspicuousness, so quickly turned into absurdity?

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The special type of self-made man of which both Lincoln and Johnson are representative (Johnson, so runs the unverified tradition of the Spectator's boyhood, was taught to read and write by his wife) has passed, the Spectator supposes, with the frontier, "backwoods" era which produced it, although the self-made man himself will always be a distinguishing American product while America is America. But if the "backwoods" frontier were still left to us as Lincoln and Johnson knew it, would it escape the invasion of books under the ingeniously pushed campaigning of modern library work? And would not that invasion—does it not, to come to present facts—mean a loss of book influence in forming character? The Spectator has more than once seen a statement, to return to the leading library campaigner of all, to the effect that "if Mr. Carnegie gave his men shorter hours and fewer books, they would get more out of the books." So he was interested in talking over the situation in Homestead and Braddock with a friend whose business made him a resident of Braddock and then of Homestead—he does

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not live in either place now—and whose interest in libraries led him to investigate for himself. His testimony is, on the whole, reassuring. Not a few men in the Braddock and Homestead mills who work those long hours—if the hours are longer than elsewhere, which seems to be disputed—find intervals of leisure during working hours which they devote to reading and discussion. They draw books from the libraries which they take with them to the mills; more usually, as would be expected, works on economics, which lead to very spirited debates. Sometimes the favorite subject is at the furthest possible remove from personal conditions and problems, as when for weeks hypnotism held the field against all comers. Of course, more children than adults used the libraries of these two towns, as is the case with most public libraries. But a far larger per cent. of men than women drew out books, and of the men about fifty per cent. were employed in some capacity at the steel works. In the case of one of these libraries there was a drop in a year from over eighty per cent. to nearly seventy per cent. in the demand for fiction, and in the case of the other a considerable drop. Appreciation of the value of books was often shown in the poorest houses. A little Polish girl came in one day when the Spectator's friend chanced to be in the library, and presented a very anxious face as she returned a book. "That's just as clean as it was when I took it out?" she asked. "Father says he'll whip me if it ain't. As a book comes out, 'so it must go back,' he says. I have kept it clean, haven't I?"

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Incidentally, the Spectator's friend dropped a word of warning from his observations in Braddock and Homestead against making the library building of the smaller town too much of a social center. The other interests, where this is done, are pretty sure to encroach upon essential library interests. In both Braddock and Homestead the library buildings are also the homes of clubs, with the possibility—actual occurrences—that a reading-room may be under a room where women play an animated game of progressive euchre of an afternoon, or an orchestra does its practicing of an evening. The gain in making the library building a social rallying-place, which, one might say offhand, would lead to incidental patronage of its shelves, costs the almost certain sacrifice of some of its facilities as a library, and tends to restrict and discourage its use for serious purposes.

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Despite his friend's encouraging report, one of many happy signs that the book world is being constantly opened up to a wider appreciation, the Spectator still doubts with himself whether many of us get as much out of books as not a few once did in the days of comparative book scarcity. He has never really accepted Bulwer's theory that the book is an antidote to be applied therapeutically, so to speak, according to the mood—a merry, jolly book in the hour of sadness or anxiety, or a pathetic book when one feels "too happy." According to the Spectator's own experience at least, the book itself must fit the mood to work its charm, not be deliberately chosen to antagonize the mood. On the other hand, enthusiasm for books, like enthusiasm for an art, and often supplementing it, may go far toward making a life of seemingly intolerable wretchedness one quite worth the living; and it is this enthusiasm which he sometimes fears is being lost in the abundance of our modern reading. Of the possibilities of this enthusiasm, perhaps the noblest recorded example from every-day life is the poor cripple of whom Philip Gilbert Hamerton tells in his "Intellectual Life"—a book that in the Spectator's college days was on the shelf of almost all undergraduates. At fourteen this boy was earning eightpence a day in a lead-mine, when, through a cruel accident, his thigh-bone was shattered and became diseased, "so that he could not even sit up in bed." Yet, besides "educating himself up to such a point that he could really appreciate both literature and art," he "contrived, I know not how, both to write and draw and etch on copper, managing the plaguy chemicals and even printing his own proofs. . . . All the gladness of physical activity was completely blotted out of his existence, and in that respect his prospects were without hope. And still he wrote that 'life was sweet.' Marvel of all marvels, how could that life be sweet!"

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All Sorts of Municipal Ownership

By Clinton Rogers Woodruff

Secretary National Municipal League

IN the minds of some, municipal ownership is a panacea for all the ills from which the modern municipality suffers. It is not, therefore, surprising to find the principle applied promiscuously to all sorts of municipal business, and it forms an interesting study to see to how many branches its extension has been suggested. A century ago there was no such idea as municipal ownership. The city confined itself to a very narrow circle of activities. At the most it provided a very few constables and still fewer oil lamps, and contented itself with keeping the streets clear of the fouler impurities. Each man provided himself with water, light, and means of transportation. Now a large number of cities own their water and lighting plants and supply themselves and their citizens with water and light, and the great majority of the cities exercise a very considerable degree of supervision over the means of transportation through the medium of leases. In Great Britain it is not at all unusual for a city to own and operate the transportation system.

Many cities, following the lead of New York, directly undertake the cleaning of their streets; although there are many others like Philadelphia which still employ private contractors to do the work. The question of municipal ownership of street-cleaning apparatus is an unsettled one in many communities, and public opinion is still divided on the matter. So it is as to the sprinkling, paving, and repair of the streets. There are many who believe that the establishment of municipal paving and repair plants would result in an elimination of the scandals now incident to the system of private contracts. Syracuse, for example, recently had under consideration the establishment of a municipal asphalt plant; so had St. Joseph, Mo. In 1899 the business men's organizations of Buffalo strongly indorsed a similar suggestion; so, too, did the Trade and Labor Council of Lowell, Mass., last August. Northampton, Mass., wants a city street-sprinkling plant; and so it goes. It is fair to presume that in time it will be quite as general for a city to pave, repair, and clean its streets as it is now for the city to control and operate the fire department; and yet there was a time when the city depended entirely upon volunteers to suppress fires. Now a volunteer fire department is looked upon as a relic of the past, and where it still exists is rather regarded as a temporary makeshift.

Municipal hospitals are rapidly multiplying. No large city is now without a first-class, adequately equipped hospital. Thus far these hospitals have generally been started as adjuncts to the department of charities and correction; but the time will come, if it has not already arrived, when city administrators will realize that many citizens, able to pay for the services rendered, would prefer to go to a city-controlled hospital, in preference to a privately managed one, except for the fact that the former is now unpleasantly attached to the almshouse or like institution. A movement toward this end has already been inaugurated in Philadelphia.

The Gothenburg and Norwegian systems of dealing with the liquor question and the South Carolina dispensary system have familiarized a part of the American public to a certain extent with the idea of the city ownership of saloons, which has many advocates in all parts of the country.

Nathan Straus, the New York philanthropist, is a strong advocate of the municipal ownership of plants for sterilizing milk, believing that the city owes it to its poor and unfortunate to supply them with pure milk. In 1892 Mr. Straus himself began the distribution of sterilized milk, and in that year disposed of 34,400 bottles. Last year (1900) he dispersed 596,677 bottles. Sterilized milk was introduced into the infant asylum at Randall's Island in 1897, when the death-rate was 44.36. In 1899, after two years' use of it, the death-rate had fallen

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to 24.52. Mr. Straus believes, and I think we will all agree with him, that a policy which makes so directly for the health of the community should not be allowed to depend upon private initiative and enterprise and benevolence for its continuance. The Rev. C. F. Dole, in October, 1900, in an address on "Our City Politics," followed the same lines, maintaining that there should be a municipal milk supply, so that every child in the city might have pure milk.

The disclosures last summer of the connection between the Ice Trust and Tammany officials created a profound impression, not only in New York City, but throughout the country, because of hardship involved to those least able to bear it. Comptroller Bird S. Coler and others came forward with the suggestion of a municipal ice plant, and the conservative "Evening Post" reported the large economies possible therefrom. Those who supported this idea held that it was in line with the general policy of municipal ownership as applied to light, heat, and transportation; while those who opposed it seemed to fear that it would lead to the city controlling many things it had no business to control. As one opponent said, "Where is this municipal ownership to end? We will have municipal soda-water fountains next." Another said: "I shall certainly oppose it. We will be having municipal bakeries next."

This, however, is not so extreme as some would imagine, as municipal bakeries have been suggested, and I think in some places built, in British cities; and Grenoble, France, has had a municipal restaurant for years, which has been a success practically from the start.

Municipal markets are no new thing. As a matter of fact, markets are among the oldest forms of municipal property, and their ownership has almost come to be regarded as an essential function of a well-equipped city. Municipal abattoirs, however, are by no means so common, and in one instance at least (at Montgomery, Ala.) have been declared illegal.

We have already noted the movement for municipal milk, based on the plea that it is the duty of cities to adopt such measures as will improve the public health. It is only a step from this position to the municipal control of dairy products, as advocated by a writer in the Indianapolis "Bulletin:"

> In all the range of dairy matters there is no one thing of more general or more vital importance than municipal control of dairy products in cities, towns, and villages. While the primary purpose and the justification of all such control is the protection of the consumers of these products from disease, filth, and fraud, the same control, when wisely regulated, also protects honest producers and pure products. The necessity for such control has come to be almost universally recognized by cities and towns (and is fast gaining recognition among the better class of villages), where regulating ordinances have been very generally enacted.

Of course there is an important distinction between control and ownership; but if we have municipal markets and the municipal control of dairy products, it is not a far cry to the city conducting the latter business directly on its own account.

For some reason, to me at present inscrutable, the coal and ice businesses are often conducted under a single management. Coal and ice companies are numerous in Philadelphia. If, then, we have municipal ice plants, why not municipal coal-yards? And so we have. Several years ago an attempt was made to secure the right to establish them in Boston; but it was defeated. Again last May (1900) an effort was made on behalf of Danvers, Mass.; but this, too, failed. That is to say, the Massachusetts Legislature refused to confer upon this town the right to deal in coal, on the ground, as I recall it, that such a law would be unconstitutional; although the same town now has the right to deal in gas extracted from coal. Municipal coal-yards, according to a late despatch, are to be instituted by Glasgow, Manchester, and several other British towns.

The municipal ownership of docks is by no means a new policy; but I think a municipal ferry is. Yet this is what was proposed by the New York "Herald" a year ago between Staten Island and Manhattan, and by numerous prominent citizens of the former place. The suggestion grew out of the dissatisfaction over the operation of the existing franchise by the present company.

Comptroller Coler is a strong advocate of the municipal operation of docks. He believes that the city should not only own them, but actually manage them, instead

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of leaving private companies to reap large profits from their management. He would buy up all docks not now owned by the city and run these, together with those already owned, as a department of the city and as a business investment. He is of the opinion that within thirty years a sinking fund could be accumulated which would pay for the original cost.

Municipal telephones, although not thus far actually started in this country, are not far distant. The West Side Business Men's Association of Buffalo is working for them to secure relief from the excessive charges of the existing company. In its issue of April 20, 1900, the Chicago "Chronicle" said: "Chicago is to have a municipal telephone system—an innovation in America. Its immediate use is to be confined to the police and fire departments, but its projectors say that eventually it will serve as the nucleus of a great metropolitan system that is expected to become a healthy rival to the Chicago Telephone Company and the new Illinois Telephone and Telegraph Company. Rates sufficiently low to make the telephone a cheap convenience are predicted by those who see a great future in the municipal plant."

A recent despatch from London says: "The London streets are being torn up by the laying of the wires of the new telephone system to be run by the Government. Continued complaints of overcharging and inefficiency of the monopoly led the Post-Office to take this important step. Preparations are making for 40,000 subscribers. It is hoped to begin to operate in a year. The cost will be over $5,000,000, and the rates will be so low that the smallest store will be able to have a telephone." Municipal telephones have been tried in several foreign cities. Amsterdam bought out the private company some four years ago, and has since managed the service to the satisfaction of the subscribers.

Under Mayor Quincy's administration a municipal printing plant was established in Boston. A report which was rendered in July, 1899, showed a saving of $10,386.08 for a year's operation, although these figures have since been disputed. The present Greater New York Charter Commission is in favor of establishing a plant similar to the United States Government Printing-Office at Washington. The present Comptroller of New York is heartily in favor of such action. In a recent interview he said:

> The city's printing is enormous, and there is no reason why it cannot be done just as well by the city as the work of the Federal Government is done by the Government Printing-Office. A member of Congress can introduce a bill to-night, and to-morrow morning printed copies of that bill are on the files of the members. That looks as if the service was prompt and efficient, does it not? Take one department in this city—the Board of Education—and look at the big amount of printing it requires every year. Its minutes have to be printed, as do the minutes of other departments. This costs a great deal of money. The contractors have to pay the men employed on city work the same amount of wages as if those men were employed directly by the city, and these men can work no more hours for the contractors than they could for the city. What I want to see is the power conferred upon the city to start such a plant. After that is done we can figure out how it is to be operated. It has been suggested that men employed in a city office would not render as much and as good service as if they were working for any private concern. I do not believe that that amounts to much. Men must be taught that when they are working for the city they must render as efficient and honest service as if they were employed by a private person or firm.

Syracuse, N. Y., has a municipal lodging-house which gives its lodgers breakfast, supper, and lodging for a period not to exceed two weeks, the lodger to work out his board by service in the street-cleaning brigade.

A municipal theater has often been advocated in this country. Now one has actually been built in the city of Calumet, Mich. It was erected as a wing to the new City Hall. It will be conducted by a manager in the city's employ, and all profits will accrue to the city, which is also prepared to bear the losses, if any. Franklin, Ind., has also assumed control of its theater and has appointed a manager to conduct it.

Municipal pawnshops are coming into vogue. Chicago has one, which is doing an increasingly large business, and its success has been such as to encourage other cities to follow in Chicago's footsteps. As special legislative authority is necessary, the movement is likely to be slow of growth. Municipal employment bureaus have been proposed in a number of places, and one has already been started in Toledo, O., which, according to Mayor

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Jones, is working to the best of satisfaction.

Municipal cemeteries have long been established in some localities, and now municipal crematories are seriously proposed. When these are established, and the numerous lying-in hospitals are municipalized, the whole circuit of human life will seem to be within the field of municipal activities.

Popular Education and the Race Problem in North Carolina

By Joseph W. Bailey

IN a recent letter on "Restricted Suffrage in Maryland," published in The Outlook, I read: "The most serious aspect of this Southern movement is the temptation to keep the negro in ignorance if he is thereby kept from voting."

Speaking as a citizen of North Carolina, I wish to offer some observations upon this statement.

It were futile to deny that there are political leaders in the South with no mean following who would keep the negroes in ignorance in order to keep them out of politics. Many even of the more intelligent and less partisan white men seriously doubt whether the ability to read and write will fit the average negro for citizenship, and are preparing in their minds to meet the exigencies of the situation when the negroes, having learned to read and write, are returning to the body politic proper. That is to say, they not only do not think the negroes will be fit to vote when they learn to read, but are ready to debar them by some other means when the present barriers shall have been overcome.

On the other hand, a large number of our white people, though perhaps not a majority, are in favor of educating the colored people. I think nine-tenths of the preachers and teachers are. Nevertheless, I should add that in North Carolina the preachers and teachers have little to do with politics; and the education of the negroes, since it must be derived from public schools supported by taxation, is a political question.

The Constitution of North Carolina requires that the education funds shall be so used that the schools of each race shall be maintained an equal length of time each year. The period of the free schools for whites now is fourteen weeks, of the colored it is thirteen weeks.

The free schools are supported by a general tax of eighteen cents on the hundred dollars of property and fifty-four cents on the poll. This returns a gross income of about one million dollars, which maintains the schools as above. The Constitution requires that the schools shall all be maintained four months in the year. They have not been maintained this length of time throughout the State so long since the Civil War, though for years a number of counties have maintained their schools even longer. I have been told that nowhere in the United States has a public-school system succeeded when supported by a general State tax, as ours is.

At any rate, in 1897 a number of gentlemen persuaded the Republican-Populist General Assembly to enact a law requiring an election to be held in August, 1897, in every township in the State, to determine whether a special tax of ten cents on property and thirty cents on the poll should be levied for the purpose of prolonging the terms of the free schools. There are more than fifteen hundred townships in the State. In that election less than fifteen townships voted for the special tax!

In this campaign I had charge of the literature, and also campaigned. Our funds were pitifully meager. We had the support of perhaps fifty leading citizens who signed their names to an address in behalf of the tax. President Alderman, of the State University, President McIver, of the State Normal College, and other prominent educational leaders gave themselves freely to the cause of the special tax. Many papers that began as advocates

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of the tax changed front. The present Governor of our State, then a leader of the people, undertook to campaign for the tax, but he found it impossible to make progress.

The reason universally given for refusing to vote this tax was that it would help the negroes as much as the whites. I may cite the instance of one man with six children to educate, whose extra tax would not have amounted to fifty cents, who refused for this reason to vote for it.

Of course some did not understand the proposal; of course there were others who were "opposed to taxation on general principles;" undoubtedly many Democrats withheld their support and discouraged the movement on the ground that it was "fathered" by the Fusion parties, out of which no good thing should come, if they might prevent. But it was clear that, rather than bring about better schools for both races, thousands of white citizens would not vote for a small tax that should provide better schools as well for their children.

The local taxation campaign, however, was not without effect. From the day of that election until now a persistent advocacy of the cause of better schools has been maintained. When the Democratic party came in 1900 to offer the amendment restricting the suffrage, it promised emphatically to provide four-months schools throughout the State, unequivocally pledging that no white child should be disfranchised for being illiterate because of want of opportunity to learn to read and write. The promise was made with especial regard to white children. Without this the amendment would have been defeated. The pledge of four-months schools must necessarily have included those for colored children—though little was said of that. Our present Governor, who led the campaign, all the while proclaimed the necessity of universal education. His adjective was peculiarly fortunate.

The party of the amendment came into power early in January, 1901. The General Assembly, elected in the campaign for the amendment, was overwhelmingly Democratic. In that body a few weeks ago a prominent member of the House from the eastern part of the State, where the negro population is large, proposed an amendment to the Constitution requiring the division of school funds to the races according to the property of the races, the negroes to receive the amount of their school taxes, the white people to receive theirs. This proposal was suppressed; but not until a score or more of members had made known their desire to vote for it. Shortly thereafter a substitute was proposed by a more prominent Senator providing that, while the present clause of the Constitution requiring four-months schools for either race should remain, either race might vote a tax upon itself exclusively for the schools of its children. This struck many of us favorably. We were aware that the general tax could never be adequate. We were, therefore, persuaded that we must have a local tax. But we knew that it would at best be many years before the people would vote a local tax whose benefits will be shared by the negroes. It is, indeed, true that in perhaps thirty towns in the State we have local taxes so shared; but to bring the rural townships to this point is quite another matter. A few towns have refused on this account to take a vote on the question of levying the tax necessary to establish graded schools. In view of these facts, many of us were disposed to urge this bill as the most practicable solution of the free-school question. But Governor Aycock made known his opposition to it; and to him, I have no doubt, is owed its sudden loss of advocates.

The Governor's motives were the very highest. He argued that if such a provision should be enacted, an early General Assembly would reduce the general tax from eighteen cents to ten cents, and another from ten cents to five cents, and in a little while the negroes should have no schools, and it should be a question if the white people in many communities would have any. Of course the reader recalls that this is to argue that the clause of the Constitution requiring four-months schools would be disregarded. But why not argue that a clause that has been disregarded ever since it was written may remain of no force! The Governor's position, I may say, is that the two races are bound together in this matter, and that they both must have schools. There are many of us who believe that not a few people in North Carolina would be indifferent to the education of the white

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children if they should be assured that the negroes should not be educated. It is against these that the Governor now declares that he stands, as he has stood, for "universal education."

In him and in his position rests largely the hope of good schools for the colored people. And yet he was elected on the platform—indeed, he made possible the platform and the amendment—restricting the suffrage. So, then, here is one man who, though very much in favor of depriving the illiterate negro of the suffrage, is equally strong in his demand that the negroes shall have schools maintained as long as those of the whites. And his position appears to rest upon conviction that there must be universal education or none. It is my opinion that he will hold off every effort to readjust the division of the funds. Whether any one will be in a position to oppose such an effort five years hence is open to question, but I think by that time the poorer white people will have perceived that the hope of schools for their own children lies in maintaining the present article of the Constitution and the present basis of dividing the funds.

I have stated that many of the more intelligent white citizens are opposed to the use of money derived from the common taxes to maintain schools for negroes. It is desirable to explain that this opposition does not by any means rest solely upon the knowledge that to educate the negroes will enfranchise them. Indeed, it has existed from the time when educational qualifications were not thought of. In my opinion, this attitude has support from four or five points of view.

First: From the frequently held conviction that to educate a negro is to "ruin a good farm hand," without getting an equivalent in other capacities.

Second: From the widely held conviction that our school funds are altogether inadequate to the needs of the white children, and that it is folly to spend them on colored children when the opportunities of the white children are so limited.

Third: From the fear in some quarters that the negro children, not being deterred by poor clothes, etc., will go to school in larger numbers than the white children, and will thus acquire ability to read and write more rapidly.

Fourth: From the general race prejudice, arising in part from the old antipathy of the poor whites, who, to a degree, are in competition with the negro in the labor market now, in part from the old attitude of master and slave, and in part from the political divergence created by the negroes' attitude of consistent opposition to the whites, and their persistent ambition for office as well as sporadic efforts to obtain social equality.

I have stated that there are those who are impressed that the present means of limiting the suffrage of the negroes is inadequate and will rapidly become more so. Some of these hope for the abrogation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. Others are considering the wisdom of instituting a property qualification in some fashion so soon as the negroes in large numbers have overcome the present barrier.

Finally, I submit that, in the solving of this very important problem, the South must have the sympathetic co-operation of intelligent men in the North. Southern plans are likely to be wisest. The South has the best opportunity to understand. She is more likely to find the best way out. Mere partisan policy will be ruinous. The Northern view may help restrain the South. But I maintain that, on the whole, the Nation ought, so far as possible, to give to the better class of Southern men its support in measures looking to the solution of the problem; and, at any rate, that a policy of interference or unfeeling criticism cannot but result in ill to both North and South. It is for this purpose that I have written this frank estimate of public opinion in the South and cited recent legislative proposals bearing upon the race problem and its relation to popular education in the South.

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The Rights of Man

A Study in Twentieth Century Problems

By Lyman Abbott

Chapter VI.—The Industrial Rights of Man

THE industrial rights of man: what are they and how are they to be secured in a democracy?

Every man has a right to the product of his own industry, because it is a part of himself; into it he has put a portion of his life. His life is his own, therefore this portion of his life is his own. The artist paints a picture; the musician composes a symphony; the author writes a book; into this picture, this symphony, this book, the artist, musician, author, has gone. Because the artist has projected himself into the picture, the musician into the symphony, the author into the book, this product of himself belongs to him. And what is true of the artist, of the musician, of the author, is true of every laborer. The shoemaker projects himself into the shoes; the carpenter into the house; the loom-worker into the cloth. These also are a part of the man. Into them he has put his brainwork or his handiwork; therefore they are his. This right of every man to the product of his own labor is a natural right. Society did not confer it; society cannot take it away. Society may fail to protect it, or may violate it; but the right itself is absolute. Whenever organic law violates this right it is unjust; whenever it fails to protect this right it is inefficient.

It was for this reason that slavery was unjust. The injustice of slavery did not lie in the fact that the slaves were ill fed, ill clothed, or ill housed. If it had been true that they were better housed and fed and clothed in slavery than in freedom, still slavery would not have been justified. The evil of slavery was not that families were separated. If the law had provided explicitly that slaves' families should not be separated, still slavery would have been unjust. The injustice was not in specific acts of cruelty. If there had never been a Legree, still slavery would have been unjust. It was not that the slave was denied education. In Rome the slaves were educated, and authors and copyists and literary men were held in slavery, and slavery was not just. The wrong of slavery lay in this: that personality was invaded; the product of the man was taken from him; he had put a part of his life out into the world and he was robbed of it. Whenever and however society does this, it does injustice.

So, again, if society is so organized that men cannot engage in productive industry, it is unjustly organized. The command, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread," involves a prerogative even more than a command. If society is so organized that there are large masses of men who cannot, by the sweat of their brow, earn their daily bread, it is unjustly organized. "Enforced idleness," says Carlyle, "is the Englishman's hell." There have been times in the past, in the history of this country—and if the industrial organization of to-day remains unchanged there will be such times in the future—when thousands of men have been driven into that enforced idleness which is the Englishman's hell. Any organization of society which prevents masses of the people from earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, or which fails to enable them so to earn it if they will to do so, is an unjust organization of society. So any organization of society which, allowing men to work, still fails adequately to remunerate their work, fails adequately and rightfully to adjust the relations between the workers, and takes so much for the one class that it leaves practically nothing for the other class, or leaves them but a mere pittance and bare subsistence, is an unjust organization of society. The man who has put his life into his labor has a right to the product of that life. If, in the complexity of modern society, he is combined with others in that production, he has a right to a fair, just, and equable share in the product of the combined

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industry. If society fails to secure it for him, society is inefficient and in so far unjust.

If any section of society endeavors to prevent any man from working and from enjoying the product of his work, that section of society is unjust. If any organization undertakes to prevent any man from working when he will, where he will, for whom he will, and at what wages he will, that organization violates the essential right of labor. It is not primarily the enemy of capital; it is primarily the enemy of labor; for every man has a right to work, and every man has a right to the product of his industry. Imagine, for a moment, that any man should propose to place a law on our statute-books providing that no man should work in any special industry unless he belonged to some special guild; not for one instant would he have the support of the people; not for one instant would he have the support of any free people. But such a law is not better, but rather worse, if it be enacted by an irresponsible body and enforced by violence.

The right of every man to work, and the right of every man to the product of his work, are fundamental rights. There is enough to be done, and the world is fruitful enough, to make it possible for every man, in the present stage of civilization, to earn enough to support himself, his wife, and his children in comfort. Any organization, political or industrial, capitalistic or laborers', which impugns this right, prevents this work, or takes from the laborer the product of his industry, whether it be industry of the brain or industry of the muscles, without adequate compensation, is unjust. The first industrial duty of society is to protect every man in his right to labor and in his ownership of the fruits of his labor.

But there are large values in the world which are not the fruits of labor. There are, therefore, large values in the world, the individual right to which is not a natural right.

The ocean is not the product of industry. It belongs to no man and to no body of men. We may call a nation mistress of the seas, but we do not thereby concede that she owns the seas. By international law it is generally agreed that the water extending from the shore out to a line three miles from the coast shall belong to the nation whose coast that water adjoins; but this right to the three miles of water is not a natural right. It does not belong to the nation by any law of nature. It belongs to the nation because the nations have, for mutual convenience, agreed that it shall possess it. It is a purely artificial right, and that it is an artificial right is evident from the fact that the artificial boundary has been settled by international agreement.

The great navigable rivers are not the subjects of private property, according to any natural law. They belong to the community, not to any individual in the community, nor to any group of individuals in the community. In the early part of this century the State of New York gave to Robert Fulton and his heirs the exclusive right to navigate the harbor of New York and the waters of the Hudson River. Daniel Webster contended before the Supreme Court of the United States that no State had the right to confer an exclusive right to navigate the rivers within its own boundary lines—that a navigable river was not the subject of private property, and could not be made so by any act of legislation whatsoever. No one service that Daniel Webster ever rendered to this country, except perhaps his reply to Hayne, was so great and so lasting as this service. The Supreme Court of the United States affirmed what he had claimed. It declared that no State could give a right to a navigable river within its boundary line; and to-day all navigable rivers in our country flow unvexed by toll or personal intervention, or monopoly of any kind, because the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that a navigable river is not the subject of private property.

Streams that are not navigable are not the subjects of private property, except in so far as they are made so by artificial arrangement. The brook that flows through a man's land is not his to do what he pleases with. He cannot pollute its waters and make it a nuisance to his neighbor below. He cannot dam its waters and make it a nuisance to his neighbor above. He cannot deflect its waters and prevent his neighbor below from having the benefit of them. He has simply the right to use the waters as they flow through

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his land—no right beyond. This right is fixed by law. It is an artificial right; it is not a natural right. Ocean, navigable river, unnavigable stream, are not subjects of private property except as they are made so by artificial arrangement, for the simple reason that they are given to man by God—they are not the products of man's industry.

What is true of ocean and river is equally true of land. No man ever made an acre of land and its contents. Man may transfer the soil from one place to another, in which case we speak of him as "making land;" but he does not really make the land, he simply moves it. The land belonged to the Almighty. To whom has he given it? Not to a few favored individuals, but to the human race. If land is the subject of private ownership at all, that private ownership depends upon the arrangements which society has made, not upon the inherent and natural right of the so-called owner. Society has a right, if it chooses, to say, "The ownership of navigable rivers in common will be injurious; we will let New York State give a monopoly of them." It has a right, if it chooses, to say, "It will cost too much for us to build a waterway between the Atlantic and the Pacific; we will let a corporation build the waterway and levy the tolls." But if the corporation gets the river or the canal, it is because society has given it, not because the corporation has a natural right to it.

That the right to land is an artificial right is plain, in the first place, because it is not the product of human industry. Man did not make these prairies and store them with their vegetable richness; nor these coal-mines, filling them with fuel for the future; nor these wells where the oil is stored; nor these forests into which we go for our lumber. These were put there by the Almighty. And for whom? As we have already seen, not for individuals but for the whole human race; not to single men or single classes of men, but to man, God gave the world, saying, Take it, rule it, use it; it is yours.

That the right to land is an artificial right dependent upon artificial arrangements made by society is further illustrated and confirmed by the history of the evolution of landownership. In a state of nature men live in the forest as the wild beasts live. The territory over which the tribe roams is the common property of the tribe; the only law recognized is the law of the strongest. Controversies arise between families or between tribes. Partitions are made, and out of these controversies private ownership arises. The early traditions of the Hebrew people furnish an illustration of such a controversy and its peaceful settlement. Abraham divides the land into two sections, gives to Lot his choice, and Lot chooses the fertile plains where are the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. In this fashion the first division of lands is made. How later the governments divide the lands they have acquired by grant to favorites, and how the grants thus made continue through successive generations by bequest or exchange, is familiar history. William the Conqueror crosses the Channel, conquers the Anglo-Saxon people, takes possession of England, divides the land among his retainers, and to-day the great land-titles of England date back to the distribution of land made by William the Conqueror, because he had conquered England. The English came over to this country; they found five hundred thousand Indians roaming over this unused continent. England conquered the continent, took possession of it, and then divided it. The great land-titles of America go back, the oldest of them, to the patents issuing from Holland and from England. The later titles come in the same way. America, taking possession of the vast regions of the West, divided them up and said to every man, You may have one hundred and sixty acres of land if you will occupy and till them. How does the owner get his right to this one hundred and sixty acres? By the act of the Nation. His title grows out of the homestead law. That law might have said two hundred acres; it might have said one hundred acres; it might have said a thousand acres. The title to the land depends on the act of the government. All land-titles in their history are thus derived from the action of society; the right to land is an artificial, not a natural, right.

As the titles are derived from the act of government, so, in the theory of the law, the government still has the supreme ownership. We have already seen that in the Hebraic commonwealth the land

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belonged to God; the men who occupied it were only tenants of God. We have seen how under the feudal system the land belonged to the king; the men who occupied it were only tenants of the king. Under the doctrine of eminent domain, the ultimate ownership of the land of the United States is not in the individual owner, but in the State. The owners are *quasi* tenants; their rights are limited and defined by the law which has created them. Those rights are not absolute, as is their right to the product of their own industry.

What is true of the ocean, the rivers, the land and its contents, is equally true of the great forces of nature. Light, heat, gravitation, electricity, are not subjects of personal ownership except as law makes them so. The world is a great electric motor; it generates electricity—that is, it transforms some other power into electricity. This electric power which the world generates belongs to all the people in the world. If one man discovers a way of tapping this electric reservoir and drawing off the electric current and using it for illumination or for locomotion, the State gives him an exclusive right to use that method for a term of years. When that term expires, his right expires. Nor does this right even for this limited term prevent any other man from discovering any other method of entering nature's reservoir and drawing off the force which she has created for the human race. The right to the forces of nature, like the right to land and its contents, is an artificial right limited and determined by the law of society which has created the right.

Thus we have two kinds of right to property. The first is absolute—the right of every man to himself, and therefore to the product of his labor, the right of every man to his life, and therefore to that into which he has put his life. The other is social, legal, artificial, dependent upon the arrangements which society has been pleased to make. All rights to ocean, to navigable rivers, to unnavigable rivers, to land and the contents of the land, and to the great forces of nature, are of this latter kind. They are dependent upon the arrangements which society has been pleased to make. They are founded upon the will of the community.

The great sources of wealth are in this common wealth. What has made this Nation in the aggregate wealthy beyond all compare is primarily, not what our industry has produced, but what we have found already produced for us: the rich prairies, the almost inexhaustible mines, the great forests, the mill streams, the navigable rivers, the great forces of nature—light, heat, electricity. We are the richest people, not because we have produced more *per capita* than any other people have ever produced, but because we have found a treasure which no other people ever found. It was made for us; it was stored here awaiting our arrival.

How ought this common wealth, this wealth which by nature belongs to no individual because no individual produces it, to be distributed?

In a previous article I have traced the progress toward the larger distribution of wealth in the abolition of feudalism and the substitution of the wages system. We have seen that this system converts capital from a dead possession to a living instrument of industry; that the wealth once buried in forests used by royalty for hunting, or in parks kept by nobles as pleasure-grounds, is now invested in factories which give employment to hundreds and food or clothing or tools to thousands, or in railroads which serve the entire Nation as a public highway. We have seen, too, that under the wages system not only is nearly all property used for the benefit of the all, but it is actually divided among a vastly greater number of owners than ever before. Statistics are rarely interesting, but they are sometimes very significant. The student who wishes to know to what extent the distribution of wealth is already carried in democratic America will find ample material for his inquiry in the admirable monograph of Mr. Charles B. Spahr on "The Distribution of Wealth." He shows that while in England, not yet wholly freed from the relics of feudalism, "more than three-fourths of the people of Great Britain and Ireland are without any registered property whatever," "nearly half the families in America own the real estate they occupy," and in the rural communities the proportion of real estate owners is still greater. Again, in Great Britain less than six hundred and fifty thousand persons, that is, a little over one and a half

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per cent. of the population, are possessed of property valued at five thousand dollars or more; in America approximately one-eighth of the families of the Nation—city, town, and country—own each more than five thousand dollars.

The statistics of the savings banks confirm these figures. The total deposits in such institutions for 1890–91 aggregated over two thousand five hundred million dollars. The total number of depositors in the savings banks alone for the year 1890 was over four million and a quarter, with an average deposit of $354.80 for each depositor. As most of these depositors probably represent families, the proportion of wealth owners to the population is seen to be large. But these figures do not adequately represent the extent to which wealth is distributed in the United States. This is further indicated by the extent to which wealth is owned by great corporations. The corporation is a modern contrivance by which, for purposes of administration, the property of a great number of owners is put into the control of a small number of sagacious men. It is essentially a democratic invention. The stock is owned by many stockholders; the administration is conducted by a few directors. In estimating the extent to which property is distributed in the United States, the economic student must take account not only of the landowners and the savings bank depositors, but of the smaller stockholders in the corporations of the country.

The observer in any fairly prosperous American town may see the evidences of this distribution of wealth for himself. As he goes by the miner's or manufacturer's cottage he sees a hammock under the trees—this means leisure; he hears the music of an organ or a piano—this means culture; he meets the grocery wagon or the butcher's cart driving through the town—this means good food and plenty of it; he finds the best building in the town a school-house and perhaps the next best a public library—this means education. To this comparatively equable distribution of wealth the unexampled prosperity of the United States is due. Whatever tends to increase the distribution of wealth will tend to increase that prosperity; whatever tends to diminish that increase and substitute therefor a concentration of wealth tends to diminish that prosperity. For the true wealth of the community depends far more on the equity of the wealth-distribution than upon the aggregate amount of wealth possessed.

This matter requires a little further elucidation.

Money is simply a convenient means of exchanging the products of industry. In any community every member who is busy producing something which the community needs is also producing something which he can give in exchange for the labor of another which supplies his own needs. The shoemaker requires clothes of the tailor, a house of the carpenter, flour of the miller. But if for any reason the shoemaker is unable to produce shoes, and is compelled to lie idle, he no longer has anything to give in exchange for the work of the tailor, the carpenter, and the miller. Thus every busy man tends to produce another busy man, and every idle man tends to produce another idle man. Both idleness and industry are self-propagating. When wealth is so concentrated in the hands of an individual that the many are without means to purchase what their needs really demand, their inability produces a similar inability in others, and thus poverty breeds poverty. An Italian village, the wealth of which is concentrated in the castle of a single nobleman, while the peasants live on the coarsest foods, in the poorest hovels, wear the plainest clothes, and their children go barefoot, will give employment to a minimum of farmers, carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers. A New England village, in which there are no millionaires and no paupers, in which every family is well housed, well clad, uses the best flour, and eats meat twice a day, gives employment to a maximum of farmers, butchers, millers, carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers. Thus no industrial system can be advantageous to any one which leaves any one without the possibility of employment, as no industrial system can be ethically right which has the effect of forbidding any one from obeying the divine command and earning his bread by the sweat of his brow.

As it is the glory of the United States that wealth has never been so widely distributed as it is in the United States to-day, and employment has never been so much in demand in all the various

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vocations of life, so it is the peril of the United States that wealth is still too much concentrated in the hands of the few, and still there are, even in prosperous times, some, and in unprosperous times great numbers, who in vain seek an opportunity to earn their livelihood by their industry. For we must recognize the fact that, while wealth has never before been so widely distributed as it is to-day in the United States, while the concentration of wealth attracts so much attention, largely because it is the exception in a community whose prosperity is more equally shared than ever before in the world's history, this concentration exists, and in forms which are perilous to American institutions. De Tocqueville warned us more than half a century ago that the greatest peril to America would arise from plutocracy, and events are proving his warning true. If it is true that less than one-half of the families of the United States are without property, it is also true that seven-eighths of the families own but one-eighth of the wealth of the Nation; if it is true that the families which own five hundred to five thousand dollars equal in number those which own less than five hundred—that is, those who have been able to save a little, those who barely live upon their income, saving nothing, and those who are dependent upon the charity of their neighbors—it is also true that one hundred and twenty-five families own as much wealth as all the other families in the United States put together. A single striking but not unparalleled fact may serve as a concrete illustration of the extent to which, and the methods by which, the process of wealth-concentration is carried on in the United States in our time. The senior Cornelius Vanderbilt began life as a deck-hand. It is currently reported that at his death he left one hundred and eighty million dollars to be divided among his heirs. If the popular chronology is correct, and Adam was created six thousand years ago, and had lived until our time, and had worked industriously throughout that six thousand years, three hundred working days in each year, and had earned one hundred dollars a day more than his livelihood, which is more than most industrious men are able to earn, he would have acquired exactly the fortune that Cornelius Vanderbilt acquired in a lifetime. Should we, then, put fetters on industry? limit the amount a man may earn? prohibit his making all that he can? No. Let him by his industry produce the utmost which his industry can produce. Let law stimulate, promote, encourage his industry. But a hundred and eighty millions are not made in a lifetime by productive toil. They are largely taken out of the common wealth. No one objects—no one, at least, ought to object—that any man, by his skill, by his knowledge, by his industry, shall be allowed to produce all the wealth he can, and shall own it when he has produced it; but the industrial reformer does object that a man be permitted, by his shrewdness, his skill, his ingenuity, perhaps his political unscrupulousness, to get all of the common wealth he can into his hands.

Four evils grow out of this concentration in the hands of a comparatively few of that which is by nature common wealth.

First are the material evils. Where industry is fairly compensated, every man, by his industry, supports not only himself but his neighbor. Ride through any one of our commercial streets, and we wonder who it is that buys all these goods in all these shops. The man in one shop buys from the other shops. Each man purchases of his neighbor; they support one another. The children of the schoolmaster must be shod; they support a shoemaker. The children of the shoemaker must have clothes; they support a tailor. The tailor must have woolens; he supports a factory. The factory hands must have their children taught; they support the teacher in turn. Every one of us is thus engaged in supporting some one else, and every one of us is in turn supported by some one else. We hear much glorification of independence, but there is no such thing as independence. The more complicated society and the more advanced civilization, the less the independence.

Let any one of these interdependent industries stop, and all are injured. If the factory stops, the children no longer go to school, the schoolmaster can no longer buy shoes, the shoemaker can no longer buy clothes, the tailor can no longer buy woolens. Whatever distributes wealth energizes industry; whatever concentrates wealth paralyzes industry. Sometimes we read in the newspapers that the hard

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times are due to over-supply. Too many houses, therefore men are shelterless; too much coal, therefore they are shivering; too much bread, therefore they are hungry; too many clothes, therefore they go naked! It does not take much thought to see the folly of such political economy. What causes hard times is not over-supply, but under-demand. See that every man is able to meet the demands of himself, his wife, and his children, and no factory would ever close its doors. If all the women in America were able to buy all the silk dresses they want, no silk-factory would ever stop its work.

In the second place, this concentration of wealth tends to great political perils. As a result of this concentration of the common wealth in a few hands, one small body of men control the coal-oil—that is, the light; another small body of men control the anthracite coal—that is, the fuel; another small body of men control the gold and silver mines—that is, the basis of currency of the country; another small body of men control the transportation, on which the whole country depends for its life; and another small body of men, through the stock exchanges, are continually trying, with more or less success, to control the food supplies. A community in which a small body of men control the light, the fuel, the transportation, the money, and the food supplies, is perilously near a political oligarchy. And out of this grows that political corruption which is the worst foe and the greatest peril to the United States.

A third evil grows out of this concentration of wealth: under it, and owing to it, society is divided into two classes, the tool-owners and the tool-users. A comparatively small body of men own the raw material and the tools with which it can be transformed into useful products; a large body of men use those tools in making the raw material into useful products. The tool-owners we call capitalists; the tool-users we call laborers. "I can myself remember when, in the remoter parts of New England, there were still the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom in the farmer's house; when the sheep were sheared and the wool was sent to the carding-mill, and then brought back and woven and spun into garments. Now the spinning-wheel is banished from the family, the hand-loom is gone, and the spinning-wheel and the loom are under the roof of the great factories, operated by a thousand men, who own no share whatever in the machinery which they are using. In my boyhood, going home from school, I sat on the box of the stage with the driver, who owned, at least in part, the stage and four-horse team; and it was my ambition as a boy to be sometime a stage-driver myself and own four splendid horses. Now the locomotive engineer stands in the cab, and carries many more passengers a great deal more comfortably and at a far greater rate of speed; but he does not own the locomotive. The locomotive and the railroad track are owned by one set of men, and operated by quite another. Practically, all the tools and implements of industry, except in agriculture, are owned by one class, while they are employed in productive labor by another class."[1]

The result of this division of society into two classes—the few that own the tools and the many that use them only as they get the consent of the tool-owners to the use—is to make a rift in what would otherwise be a homogeneous democratic society, and to bring about, as between these two classes, a chronic state of warfare which does not merely injure the classes but imperils the whole community. Only a few weeks ago the tool-owners in Pennsylvania—that is, the men into whose hands we have allowed the coal-mines to fall—and the workingmen in Pennsylvania—that is, those who are laboring in the mines—became involved in a controversy, and the rest of the community waited, wondering how high the price of the coal would go and whether the factories would have to close for lack of power and the poor would suffer cold for lack of fuel because of this labor war in the anthracite coal district. Such labor wars are an almost inevitable incident of this rift of society into tool-owners and tool-users; for more and more the tool-users are inclined to combine to protect their rights against aggression, and then to use that combination for purposes of aggression if they think they can do so successfully; and the tool-owners to combine to protect themselves against aggression, and

[1] Quoted from my "Christianity and Social Problems," page 161.

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then to use that combination for purposes of aggression if they think they can do so successfully. For neither capitalists nor laborers are yet wholly sanctified!

A fourth evil resulting from this concentration of wealth and consequent division of society into two classes, a few very rich and the many dependent upon them, is seen in the vices which such a social organization tends to produce; the vices respectively of what Mr. Gladstone has called the "idle rich" and the "idle poor." It is true that the great millionaires are not idle; they are generally the busiest of men. But their sons are not the busiest of men. Given an idle rich class, with plenty of money and none of that self-control which is learned in the school of industry, and there inevitably result the three great vices of America—gambling, drinking, and licentiousness. On the other hand, given a great dependent class and a time of hardship when some of them can no longer get the right to use tools and earn their bread, and they become literally dependent upon charity, they begin to listen to the man who says, "The world owes you a living;" and when a man has begun to think that the world owes him a living, he has taken the first step toward getting his living by foul means if he cannot get it by fair. So out of the great working class the poor are recruited, and out of the poor the paupers, and out of the paupers the tramps, and out of the tramps the thieves, and out of the thieves the robbers.

Thus the concentration of wealth tends, first to material, second to political, third to industrial, and fourth to moral evil. The real and radical remedy is nothing less than a better distribution of wealth—not by invalidating the right of every workingman, whether he works with his brain or his hand, to the product of his toil, but by a better division of that great common wealth, the title to which, in so far as it is held by individuals, depends on the artificial arrangements of society. Society, which made originally the arrangements by which this common wealth tends to drift into the hands of a few, has a right to make new arrangements by which this common wealth will tend to be divided among the many. Nor will this process of division reach its consummation until the distinction between tool-owners and tool-users is obliterated, until the tool-users become the tool-owners, that is, until the laborers become the capitalists; until, at least, the present relationship is so far reversed that the tool-user hires or owns the tool in lieu of the tool-owner hiring or, as in the slave system, owning the tool-user—until labor ceases to be a commodity to be hired, and becomes itself the hirer of capital; in other words, until, in lieu of money employing men, men employ money.

This is the revolution toward which society is steadily, though for the most part unconsciously, moving. This is the true meaning of socialism, which, by, I believe, mistaken methods, seeks to secure the world for the all and put it truly under the control of the all; which interprets the divine declaration, "Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat," as addressed to the whole human race, not to a privileged class who, possessing the earth, are afterward to parcel it out to their less fortunate or less competent fellows. This is the meaning of the so-called socialistic legislation, which is an attempt, not always wisely directed, by the community to take control, if not possession, for the community, of those industries on which the life of the community depends. This is the meaning of the labor unions and the strikes, which often seem, and sometimes are, causeless, but which are generally blind endeavors to get, not merely a larger share of the common product of labor and capital working in co-operation, but also a larger share in the control of the industry by which their common wealth is produced.

By Democracy of Industry, then, I mean that state of society in which the right and duty of every man to earn an honest livelihood by his industry will be universally recognized, and in which the raw material and the native forces, by which alone in our time such a livelihood can be secured, will be under the control, not of the few, but of the many. Thus, and only thus, will industry be truly democratic. In a succeeding article I shall consider what are some of the steps in that process of evolution by which so radical a revolution can be justly and peacefully accomplished.

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The Present Outlook in China[1]

By Arthur H. Smith

Special Commissioner for The Outlook in China

AT this writing it is a little more than seven months since the occupation of Peking by the allied armies, and it is highly probable that many of those in Western lands who have followed the slow and tortuous progress of the negotiations think it is high time that they were definitely concluded. The American Correspondent, following the lead of his master, the American Public, is impatient of the vermicular motion of diplomacy described as "inching along," and soon loses all desire to chronicle its semi-stationary contortions. About the middle of October a writer for a New York paper, who was passing through Tientsin on his way out into the world again, gravely assured me that in the United States the interest of the public in China was "dead, sir, completely dead, now that the Legations have been relieved." It was as vain to argue with him as with others of those intellectual prodigies, by no means infrequent in the Far East, who are able by a swift process of absorption and by subtle "psychic sympathies" to get at the essence of things almost completely incomprehensible even to the partly initiated, and to arrive at conclusions with a maximum of certainty and a minimum of labor.

It is well worth while to call attention to this phase of the matter at the present moment, when the negotiations with China seem to have reached a stage of more than usual intricacy, and when the results are more than ever before a mattter of dense uncertainty. The American public dislikes to entertain the smallest suspicion that it does not apprehend the basal facts of the Chinese situation to such an extent as to render the usual snap judgments safe; but it is not strange that the peculiar relations between the Chinese and the Russian Empires should not have been forced upon the notice of the Americans. To an unprejudiced spectator it is clear that no foe ever so gravely threatened the existence of the Chinese Government as Russia has done and is still doing, yet the Chinese, while shrewd observers and gifted with remarkable insight into motives and intentions, show little apparent perception of the real condition of their Empire as related to their colossal neighbor. Sometimes Chinese statesmen, when asked how it is that they have drifted into this condition, simply reply, "What could we do to prevent it?"—an inquiry to which it is not easy to formulate a satisfactory answer.

All the world is now aroused to the gravity of the situation in regard to Russian domination of Manchuria, although what the world proposes to do about it, other than to send Notes and to propose inquiries, we do not hear. Yet the situation is not inherently different from what it has been for some years, except that the folly of the Chinese, in their wanton attacks on Russian cities and settlements, put the handle of the sword into the hands of Russia, to use a Chinese phrase—an advantage which, whatever other Powers may say or may do, she is not likely to surrender. Ever since the conclusion of the war with Japan in the spring of 1895 such a state of things was distinctly foreshadowed, but nothing was then done about it. Lord Charles Beresford published in his literally weighty volume on "The Break-up of China" the protests handed to him by the representatives of the British Municipal Council of Tientsin, who informed him that at that time Manchuria was practically a Russian province. This was at least a brevet fact, if it had not then been promoted to the dignity of past history, but no attention seems to have been paid to it in our own country, except noting the statement. Here is a door the closing of which will make a difference of unknown millions of dollars in American trade, and that door shows signs of being forcibly slammed shut. The State Department at Washington then secures written affirmations from a great variety of sources that each of the Powers approves in theory and will support in practice the plan of fastening the door open on equal terms to all. No one Power more cordially assents

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to this proposition than Russia. It is exactly in the line of her policy, her wishes, and her practice. We were all delighted to have American diplomacy score a decided and a unique triumph, impossible to other Powers with a less pronouncedly altruistic history, and essays on "The Open Door in China" fill the journals for many months. Meantime Russia goes on with her preparations, and when the heaven-sent fatuity of the Boxers gives the golden opportunity, she knocks out the chocks, slams the door, puts the key in her military chest, posts a strong guard in the province, warns off all others, draws up an agreement of a stringent character with China in the face of all the Powers, smiles blandly at the Anglo-German agreement, with which she is in full harmony, and cordially sympathizes with the dictum of Daniel Webster that "the past, at least, is secure."

Next to the action of Russia, the attitude of Germany has complicated the situation. Before she came on the field, within a month of the raising of the siege, it seemed next to certain that if Russia should insist upon dominating all this part of northern China there would be no serious opposition. Since then there have been indications that Germany intends to have the overlordship of Chili as well as of Shantung. Of this it is of course impossible to cite proofs, but the circumstantial evidence, as in the case of a fish in the milk-pail, is certainly strong. The Commander-in-Chief is a German, and German troops are in a great numerical majority. The Chinese Commissioners naturally protest against the incessant despatch of endless "expeditions" all over Chili after the Protocol has been signed. What reply the Ministers have made to the Chinese we do not know, nor what demands may have been made for Chinese troops to leave Chili, but what is certain is that the Germans, more than any others or all others, have sent large bodies of men to the frontiers of the province, where, on the summit of a range of mountains, a branch of the Great Wall divides Chili from Shansi. Here scouting parties of Germans come upon Chinese Imperial troops, who naturally resist the German advance, and a fight ensues, in the course of which one hundred, two hundred, or, in one instance, three hundred Chinese soldiers are said to be killed, and one German or two are killed and as many wounded. In the most recent instance reported, the Germans are said to have not only driven away the entire Chinese force at a distance of several hundred *li* west of Paotingfu, but to have posted their own troops at the barrier to guard and to keep it. Whatever explanations may be officially made, it is difficult to see how these acts can be construed as anything but a *de facto* domination of Chili. How could the Imperial Court, the temper and the movements of which are the subject of innumerable mutually contradictory stories, return to a capital thus overawed by irresistible legions, the purposes of which cannot possibly be known?

Whenever the Court does return, and foreign military control is withdrawn, there will come a critical period, the occurrences of which the boldest prognosticator hesitates to forecast. There are reported to be about three hundred French soldiers posted at Huailu, at the entrance of the pass leading to the capital of Shansi, and the commander is desirous of withdrawing them. But Chinese military forces are close at hand to assume the rule the moment the French retire, and the Chinese civil magistrates would be completely at their mercy. For this reason, we are told, the French cannot leave—in other words, they have a wolf by the ears.

This is a possible suggestion of what may be seen everywhere should foreign authority lapse. At Washington it is the fashion to look at the Chinese situation through the colored glasses furnished by the clever Mr. Wu, whose presence abroad at this crisis is to China the greatest stroke of good fortune. It is easy for him to represent that the Chinese Government is more than ready to take over the functions of office everywhere, and that it is quite capable of keeping order. The Empress Dowager, or whoever constitutes the Chinese Government, has recently been issuing the most admirable Imperial Edicts on the subject of the protection of missionaries and of converts. The failure to do this last year was contrary to our wish often expressed, and hence many heads have fallen. Hereafter there must be no failure in this direction. How repentant this sounds,

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and how hollow as the supple bamboo which yields to the strongest pressure in any given direction, and upon removal of the same instantly resumes its former position! It cannot possibly be comprehended in Washington how utterly the Government of China is dependent upon the temper of the officials and of the people to get its orders executed. The great storm which has swept over the face of China was raised by complex and long-continued causes, but it will not subside in a month nor in a year, and, unless all signs are deceptive, the tranquillity which will be everywhere reported after an interval will frequently be found to be superficial only. During the period in January and February when the Court seemed to be hesitating to grant the irrevocable demands for the punishment of the more important guilty parties, the influence of that hesitation is known to have been felt immediately in the military camps in Shantung, under the command of Governor Yuan-Shih-K'ai. They were apparently ordered to be ready to march northward at an early day, and it was popularly supposed that a large body of southern troops had been somewhere gathered to support the advance, which was to be a death-struggle with the foreigner. Even if the army was beaten, it would at least make the whole country a waste, and so useless to the invader. While this was probably mere rumor, or at most a preparation for a possible contingency, and perhaps nothing but empty bluster, in either case it equally showed the determined bent of the Chinese mind.

The wild passions which have been raised are not to be spirited out of existence by a mere edict announcing that peace has been arranged for all within the Four Seas, for the facts which underlie the troubles have been at last ground into the Chinese national consciousness as never before. It is a significant circumstance that simultaneously with this military programme the Shantung Boxers again began to assert themselves, holding a formal gun-drill (such as last year announced actual hostilities) at a village within twenty miles of the home of the writer of these lines. That fact was accompanied by the open proclamation of an intention to resume the operations of last year, under the directions of the "Great Fairy" who superintended them, and who had officially informed the Boxers that in the previous outbreaks they had squandered their opportunity by requiring ransom money, and by the spoliation of the houses of Christians, whereas this time all that was to be absolutely forbidden, and in the new attack *every* Christian was to be killed, including the chickens and the dogs, that there might be no root left alive when the grass should be cut up.

These renewed attempts may have been purely local. But they are not the less worthy of notice as an indication of what many of the Chinese would like to do were it within their power. There is no reasonable doubt of the intentions of Governor Yuan, but here again we must reckon with the "personal equation" on an enormous scale. No Chinese and no Manchu, whatever his rank, can conduct the work of his position against the united opposition of his subordinates. As the Chinese saying goes, "One can manage with Pluto, but it is with the small devils that the trouble comes." Yuan has issued the most stern proclamations, offering incentives and positive rewards for the total suppression of troubles with foreigners for a period of three years, but in many districts these proclamations remain unposted, and the people are left in ignorance of his utterances. As a whole, there is no reason to apprehend serious trouble in Shantung, though there may be local exhibitions of bad feeling. A large company of missionaries are just now leaving Chefoo by steamer for a small port which can be reached by a canal-boat from the capital, having been already invited back by the Governor, who will almost certainly protect them completely.

The situation in Chili is altogether different, and as an escort of foreign troops is not available for Protestant missionaries (although the Roman Catholics do not appear to experience any embarrassments from this source), their movements through this province are necessarily restricted to a reasonable distance from the nearest military post. If one were to go into the interior upon his own responsibility and trouble should ensue, the consequences might be most serious. With reference to foreigners returning to Shantung by way of the Grand Canal, Li-Hung-Chang has just replied to the

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question of the United States Minister, that since the Germans have driven out General Mei, who was keeping order in that part of the province, looting his yamen and releasing his Boxer prisoners, it is altogether inadvisable for foreigners to travel there or anywhere else in the province.

During the past week or two the question of the supplementary list of Chinese officials to be punished, as provided for in the Protocol, has been before the Ministers, and a decided difference of opinion has been manifested. As already mentioned, it is well known that the cue of Russia is to object to this and to that, in order to pose as the only true friend which China has. The list of officials whose punishment is now required is not a large one, amounting to much less than a hundred and fifty, of whom only a dozen or so were to be executed. For the greater part at least of the remainder it would be demanded that they never hold office again.

When it is remembered what these men have done, and with what savage brutality many of them have plotted to exterminate every foreigner in their jurisdiction, it is evident to every one acquainted with the conditions that in the New China that ought to ensue after peace negotiations shall have been completed, such officials ought not for a moment to be tolerated. The cry which appears to be so popular in the United States, that to demand the capital punishment of less than twoscore Chinese officials as a partial expiation of the deliberate crime of the Chinese Government is an exhibition of "bloodthirstiness," betrays a hopeless incapacity to comprehend the real conditions in China, and, what is of more importance, to grasp the aspects in which the matter must present itself to the Chinese mind. If Western Powers, whether moved by sentimentality or by a desire to trade upon the supposed good will of the Chinese to be gained by minimizing the guilt of the guilty, are to slur over the past and deal weakly with those who are not only criminals in our eyes but in those of the Chinese themselves, the inevitable result must be to reawaken in all Chinese officials and people alike a thorough contempt for Westerners who are so easily hoodwinked. The Chinese will attribute the result to every motive but the real one, and will certainly think and feel that Powers who have held the sword in hand so long, and yet have failed to employ it as Chinese know that it ought to be employed, are not to be dreaded in the future; and it is a moral certainty that the Chinese will act in accordance with this view.

There is a special incongruity in this false sympathy for Chinese wrong-doers when the Powers are governing the cities of Tientsin, Paotingfu, and Peking, and are inflicting punishments upon Chinese miscreants in accordance with Chinese law, without reference to Western codes. The Germans particularly are reported to have cut off the heads of many hundred Chinese within their jurisdiction, many of them for absolutely trivial offenses. This is regarded as simply a question of military administration, and no notice whatever seems to be taken of it, while the settlement of the penalties for the great international crime of 1900 is hindered from sources the most opposite, through selfishness and sentimentality. In this connection it is well to mention that renewed attention has just been called in the foreign press of China to the terrible nature of the sufferings to which the martyred missionaries were in many cases subjected. The matter is a painful and a delicate one, especially in the case of the ladies, but the suspicion that there is an effort to suppress the facts, lest the knowledge of them should lead to restrictions upon missionary work in the interior, has only led to the publication of the most terribly shocking details said to have been obtained from the lips of eye-witnesses. It is undoubtedly better that the whole truth should be known, for it must sooner or later come to the surface, and it is only by a calm contemplation of *all* the facts that a wise conclusion can be reached as to what ought to be done to prevent a recurrence of similar atrocities. The Rev. J. W. Stevenson, director of the China Inland Mission in China, has compiled statistics of the aggregate losses of all the missionary lives in China during the recent outbreaks in 1899 and 1900, and the list is worth preserving for reference. One of the Anglican missionaries was killed in Shantung at the very close of 1899; all others lost their lives during the summer or autumn of last year. The

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following is a complete list of the Protestant missionaries who were killed or who died from injuries received during the Boxer uprising of 1899–1900:

SOCIETY	Adults.	Children.	Total.
China Inland Mission	58	20	78
Christian and Missionary Alliance	21	15	36
American Board	13	5	18
English Baptist Mission	13	3	16
Shou-Yang Mission	11	2	13
American Presbyterian North	5	3	8
Scandinavian Alliance Mongolian Mission	5		5
Swedish Mongolian Mission	3	1	4
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	3		3
British and Foreign Bible Society	2	3	5
	134	52	186
PROVINCE			
Shansi and over the Mongolian Border	112	45	157
Chili	13	4	17
Chekiang	8	3	11
Shantung	1		1
	134	52	186
NATIONALITY			
British	70	28	98
Swedish	40	16	56
United States	24	8	32
	134	52	186

The Protocol makes no provision for the payment of any indemnity to Chinese who have suffered during the late troubles, unless they were in the service of foreigners. Statements of the claims of all such are to be drawn up and sworn to by May 1. This will include, incidentally, the employees of the various missions, but leaves all other Christians uncared for. In the vicinity of the occupied cities numerous Protestant missionaries have been able to secure either the whole or a large part of the sums needed to reimburse the losses of their converts. If all reports are to be trusted, the Roman Catholics have generally exacted amounts the most liberal, not to say enormous, aided by the almost omnipresent French soldiers. We do not hear of any single instance in which indemnities for Protestants have been collected by the help of troops, though there may have been isolated cases. In Shantung it is not yet known whether Yuan-Shih-K'ai will follow the lead of Li-Hung-Chang in ordering the payment of about twenty taels for each room in a house destroyed, and the same for its contents, thus averaging the losses indiscriminately. Some reparation to the persecuted and hunted Christians the Chinese officials ought certainly to make, but in many cases it is like drawing eye-teeth to extract the money from unwilling and semi-hostile magistrates.

The perusal of the much-quoted article in the January "Contemporary Review," by Dr. Dillon, on the outrages committed by foreign troops in North China, has led to much discussion here on the ground, where, if anywhere, it ought to be possible to get at the facts. Without impugning the veracity of this observer, it is remarked that his means of ascertaining the existing conditions were imperfect, that the conversations which he held with the Chinese require careful sifting as to the medium through which they were conducted, and that he makes no allowance whatever for the impossibility of determining at that time who were and who were not combatants, since any Boxer (or Chinese soldier either) might at any moment throw off his outer jacket and the next moment become a harmless and at the same time a deadly peasant. An army of invasion can take no chances, especially under the conditions which governed the relief of Peking. If in any of the allied armies there are "officers" who would violate Chinese girls in a house which was used as headquarters, it is not very probable that they would take the trouble to kill girls and throw them into a chest, although such things may have happened. After talking with many whose experience and observation are much greater than my own, it certainly appears that the impression conveyed by the article of Dr. Dillon is not true to the general line of facts, and is adapted to produce a somewhat exaggerated impression at a time when the truth is sufficiently depressing. Just what those facts are or have been it is next to impossible to determine until there shall have been official investigation into the charges against the various armies. Such inquiries there most certainly ought to be, and the result will almost certainly be to make it plain that our boasted civilization has often proved in North China a mere veneer, and that, for various causes, the example of the worst foreign forces has been potent enough to demoralize most of the others at some times and under some circumstances, although by no means so universally as might be inferred. It is instructive to observe how much more emphasis is laid upon these excesses by foreigners than by the Chinese themselves, who often remark that, although undoubtedly

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grievous, they are literally nothing to what would have been committed by Chinese soldiers in any Western country which they might have overrun.

The removal of the eighteen hundred men who constitute the United States force in China is expected to take place very soon, only a Legation guard of two companies remaining. This is in accord with the views of the Government often expressed, and, if to be defended at all, can be so only on the ground that the dilatoriness of Congress in passing the new Army Bill has made it a necessity. So far as is known, all Americans in China radically disapprove of what is miscalled the "policy" of the Government in leaving American interests to other Powers to protect, when the negotiations are far from complete. It is a symptom of weakness which the Chinese will be prompt to misinterpret. Minister Conger deserves the short vacation which he and his family are granted after the tremendous strain of the past eighteen months. His place is taken by Mr. Rockhill, who has large knowledge of China and the Chinese, and who is understood to be quite in sympathy with the lukewarm plans in favor at Washington. Why the American troops were not withdrawn on the 29th of August, immediately after the empty pageant of marching through the Forbidden City, is something of a mystery. It is difficult to see what single end has been subserved by their presence for these months, or else why they should be withdrawn now. Mr. Squiers, First Secretary of Legation, who was deservedly commended to the favorable notice of our Government in a special despatch from Lord Lansdowne in conjunction with the Rev. F. D. Gamewell, who conducted the defense of the fortifications of the British Legation, is now Chargé des Affaires, and richly merits promotion to the position of Minister whenever and wherever a fitting vacancy may occur. He and Mr. Gamewell are among the few men whose services during the siege were absolutely indispensable to the safety of all.

Peking, March 16, 1901.

The Law and Policy of Annexation[1]

THE point of view of this book is indicated by the following sentence: "The annexation of the Philippines is not a cross to be borne—which seems to be the best that can be said for it; it is a blunder to be retrieved." In our opinion, the occupation of the Philippines is neither a cross to be borne nor a blunder to be retrieved. The defeat of the Spanish navy in the harbor of Manila was an achievement to be gloried in. The repelling of the attack on the American flag by Aguinaldo's forces was a duty to be performed, the evasion of which would have been a National dishonor and might have involved a great National disgrace. The sovereignty of America in the Philippines is an opportunity for achieving in a far-away land what America has achieved in territories successfully annexed on this continent; an opportunity to be entered upon with courage, with hope, but with that sobriety which great responsibility always ought to involve. Thus the reader will observe that our point of view and that of the author of this volume are radically different, and for this difference in point of view he must make allowance in reading this criticism.

The book will be of interest, in our judgment, chiefly to lawyers, as an academic discussion of an important question which the people to whom the book is addressed have not to decide. The larger portion of the volume is devoted to a consideration of the question whether territories subject to the United States are a part of the United States in such a sense that all the provisions of the Constitution apply to them. Some questions the founders of the Constitution did not leave to the Nation, but to experts selected for the purpose. To such experts they wisely left the question when and how far the provisions of the Constitution apply in restraint of the powers of Congress, or of the Nation through Congress. What are the Constitutional rights of the people of Porto Rico and the Phil-

[1] *Law and Policy of Annexation.* By Carman F. Randolph. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

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ippines under the Constitution, what are the powers of Congress over the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines, are questions which have been now laid before the Supreme Court of the United States, which is the body of experts to whom, under the Constitution, all such questions are referred. It is for this reason that we characterize the discussion of the question in such a book as this as a purely academic discussion. The people, that is, the readers of this book, have not the decision of the question. More than that, we think the spirit of the book is academic rather than practical. It assumes that the Philippines must either be foreign territory or else the Filipinos must be entitled to all the rights and privileges conferred by the Constitution on the citizens of those States and Territories which are a constituent part of the United States. We do not think that this is the alternative. In our judgment, the Nation may own and rule territory the residents of which have not the privileges possessed by citizens of the Territories and States which constitute what may be called a National partnership. A striking illustration of this power is furnished by the relation of the Federal Government to the citizens of the District of Columbia, who have no share in the government of the District. The academic nature of the book is further illustrated by the quotation, with apparent approval, from Judge Curtis of his condemnation of the Administration of Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War. This Administration and the criticisms levied against it have passed into history. We think most of our readers will agree that the verdict of history is that the Administration was in the main justified in its acts, and that the criticism of those acts because they were not in accordance with traditional interpretations of the Constitution were hypercriticisms. Having said this much in criticism of the book, we must add that it presents what may be called the strict constructionist view of the Constitution with a good deal of effectiveness, and that, as a brief addressed to the Supreme Court on the questions now pending before that tribunal, it might have had considerable value.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price.

Art of Folly (The). By Sheridan Ford. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 5¾×9 in. 190 pages.

Ballads of Down. By George Francis Savage-Armstrong, M.A., D.Lit. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 4¼×7 in. 384 pages. $2.50.

These are real Irish ballads, at times somewhat wordy, it is true, but naturally so because written by an unwearied word-master, one whose quick, acute, and expansive Celtic fancy must needs use many an expression to arrive at his Celtic ideal of felicity and finish. No one can read these verses, however, without recognizing in them an apparently opposing element, that of straightforwardness. Versatile as is our author, he hits out from the shoulder, not with one or two, but with many direct, vigorous blows. His is no angrily pessimistic iconoclasm, nor is he ignorantly optimistic; his views of life seem well balanced and just; whenever he indulges in analytical speculation, though the undertone be one of pathos, it is sane, with no suspicion of morbidness. We like Mr. Savage-Armstrong best, however, in his purely narrative work and in his transcripts of life. These are characterized by an Irish warmth, color, humor, which go straight to one's mind and heart, despite the occasionally difficult Downshire dialect—an Ulster development of the Lowland-Scottish, brought over by Scottish settlers in the reign of James I. Also in dialect are many of his descriptions of the County of Down. Like those of the Wicklow region, previously published, these surround us with a pervasive atmosphere of wood and hill and brook and bird, remaining with us long after we have left the well-printed little blue book at home and have gone again into the workaday world.

Ballantyne. By Helen Campbell. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 361 pages. $1.50.

In this cleverly told story two young New Englanders are cured of some illusions concerning their native land, the woman having fled to England from what she loathed as sordidness, and the man, brought up in England from childhood, idealizing too highly the America to which he had had no opportunity to return. Finally he goes, while she remains, and each of them during a year sees the other side of social conditions in both countries. Of course they have become fond of each other, and the conclusion in which they come to-

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gether on their native shore is that this is on the whole the best, with freedom and spirit adequate for the noblest aims of human aspiration. The characters are strongly individualized, and their paths intersect in surprising ways; but the story, though entertaining, lingers unduly on an insignificant feature of American life.

Book of Fair Devon (The). Illustrated. The International News Co., New York. 4¾×9 in. 209 pages.

This is in reality an advertising publication, but it is so well done and it contains so much interesting matter that it has both attractiveness and value for visitors to Devonshire. It is an advertisement in the sense that it sets forth the attractions of Devonshire for the purpose of bringing the charm of that country to the knowledge of a larger number of tourists.

Book of Jade (The). Doxey's, At the Sign of the Lark, New York. 5¼×7¼ in. 131 pages.

A small volume of highly sophisticated poems, touched with the decadent spirit; full of morbid interest in death and the corruption of the grave, set forth with great detail; overflowing with the ultimate despair of a man who has tried religion and found it empty, morality and discovered that it is a delusion; art, science, and experience of every kind, and found their emptiness; love, and discerned its folly; and who now turns to poetry as a last resort. It is, in other words, the work of a very young man, to whom all these great things are unknown, so far as personal contact is concerned, and who therefore writes with a free hand concerning the facts of experience. The book is not without grace and imagination, but it is essentially imitative. It lacks reality, and the writer will do well to make another start along the lines of health, sanity, artistic selection of subjects, and wholesome and natural methods of expression.

Changing View-Point in Religious Thought, and Other Short Studies in Present Religious Problems. By Henry Thomas Colestock, A.M., B.D. E. B. Treat & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 303 pages. $1.

The present change of emphasis in religious thought from forms to facts, from creeds to conduct, from metaphysical interest to ethical, from the potentate to the paternal conception of God, from the probational to the educational view of human life, from a scholastic to a vital apprehension of saving faith, is variously and effectively exhibited in this volume. Its author is evidently a close follower of Professor William N. Clarke, whom he quotes more than any other author, and whose teachings are exerting a wide and wholesome influence, particularly in his own denomination. Mr. Colestock's thought is strongly bent on spiritual and moral reality, and his book will be helpful to thoughtful minds who are hesitating between older and newer ways of thinking.

Children's Sayings. Edited by William Canton. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 158 pages. $1.

In this little volume Mr. Canton shows the same sympathetic feeling for childhood and the same knowledge of children which made it possible for him to write "The Invisible Playmate," one of the most fascinating books about childhood which has appeared for many years. This volume is prefaced by a very interesting and suggestive essay, which is followed by a collection of the sayings of children, for the most part entirely fresh, and for the most part both interesting and significant of the processes of the child mind and the stages through which the child passes.

Divine Origin of Christianity Indicated by its Historical Effects (The). By Richard S. Storrs, D.D., LL.D. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. 5¾×8¾ in. 674 pages. $2.

The Outlook has before directed attention to this work and "Bernard of Clairvaux" as Dr. Storrs's greatest books, characterized by noble diction, opulent illustration, and scholarly finish. Its publication has appropriately passed into the hands of the religious denomination of which he was a conspicuous leader.

Empresses of France. By H. A. Guerber. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. 416 pages. $2.50.

Miss Guerber's books should be better known. Her "Stories of Wagner's Operas," for instance, is invaluable to any one who would appreciate those great works, and to young students in history her other books are full of helpful suggestiveness—her "Legends of Switzerland" or her "Story of the Thirteen Colonies," for instance. Her latest work is a narration of the principal events in the lives of the only three Empresses of France—Josephine, Marie Louise, and Eugenie—and is a distinct aid towards the better understanding of French history.

Eternal Quest (The). By J. A. Steuart. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 378 pages. $1.50.

A soldier and a preacher had been united by fifty years of close friendship. The soldier had become a general, and the clergyman was militant enough to be known as "Our Fighting Chaplain." The general's son and the clergyman's daughter fell in love; they marry at the end of the story, and the story recounts the intervening trials.

Etidorhpa. By John Uri Lloyd. Illustrated. (Eleventh Edition, Revised and Enlarged.) Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 4¾×7½ in. 375 pages.

Like Mr. Lloyd's "Stringtown," this is an intermingling of the realistic and the supernatural. It is the dramatic but somewhat spun-out story of a mysterious being; it describes the conversations between an unbidden guest and an unwilling host; it is chiefly remarkable in being quite outside the ordinary run of fiction. The idea of the book first found incorporation in a private publication issued six years ago. The discussions aroused by it led to successive editions, and to the addition of certain chapters closely connected with the preceding incidents. The present is really the eleventh edition of this "novel of mystery."

Experimental Psychology: A Manual of Laboratory Practice. By Edward Bradford Titchener. Vol. I. Part I., Student's Manual. Part II., Instructor's Manual. The Macmillan Co., New York. $2.50.

These volumes by a pupil of Wundt, and an acknowledged master of his science, reveal the gulf that separates scientific from popular

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psychology. The latter emphasizes the sameness of normal minds. By the former their differences are exhibited. While the elementary processes and basal functions are the same in all, the parts borne by various groups of mental processes, and also the mechanism of functions, greatly vary. This is demonstrated by introspection as refined and accurate as instruments of precision can make it. Such an introspection, or a series of such, made under standard conditions, constitutes a psychological experiment. The experiments prescribed in these volumes, selected from a much larger number worked out in the Cornell Laboratory, are termed "qualitative," as aiming to exhibit the *how* of mental structure. They present a half-year of work for students in the third year of psychological study. An interest attaches to such research which peculiarly belongs to a comparatively new science, in which the unsolved problems are many. The work which Professor Titchener and others of our countrymen are doing in this department makes one doubt whether an American student can do much better by going abroad.

Helmet of Navarre (The). By Bertha Runkle. Illustrated. The Century Co., New York. 5×8 in. 470 pages. $1.50.

It seems almost superfluous to praise this romance, so well assured has its success been made by the avidity with which it has been read in its serial publication. Beyond doubt we are to have here another case in which a young American writer is to score with a first novel a phenomenal popular triumph. It is not too much to say that "The Helmet of Navarre" has no superior in American fiction in the particular class to which it belongs. This class is, of course, that of which Mr. Weyman has been the leader in recent years, and which the elder Dumas may be said to have invented. Here is a romance of the sword, a tale of intrigue and adventure in the France of the sixteenth century, a story of love and war in deftly mingled proportions. The characters are clearly drawn and well contrasted, but still the character-depiction is comparatively surface work—"the plot's the thing." What is worthy of special note as almost unique in a first book is the unerring sense of proportion in construction. This is a rarer merit than it should be—it is sadly wanting, for instance, in "Richard Carvel," "David Harum," "Janice Meredith," and "Eben Holden," excellent as may be all these books in other ways. In Miss Runkle's romance the narrative is consecutive, compact, and constantly sustained in its action. The incidents are not only dramatic and ingenious in themselves, but one leads into another, and all lead with due sense of perspective to the climax. Moreover, the story has the true dash and rush of romance; it is animated, brisk, and cheerful.

Labor. By Émile Zola. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7¾ in. 604 pages. $1.50.

In this elaborately worked out study of labor conditions in France M. Zola has foremost in mind humanitarian rather than fictional purpose. We reserve extended notice until a later date.

Maryland Manor (A). By Frederic Emory. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York. 5×7½ in. $1.50.

Nell Gwyn—Comedian. By F. Frankfort Moore. Illustrated. Brentano's, New York. 5×7¾ in. 316 pages. $1.50.

Mr. Moore has a much less attractive subject in this novel than in "The Jessamy Bride," and the story is inferior to its predecessor. It is based on careful study of the manners of Charles II., and there is very little doubt that the kind of wit and repartee which it contains reflects a good deal of the coarseness of the court of a monarch who was genuinely witty, but many of whose courtiers, men and women, had none of the salt of wit and not a shred of intellectual or moral decency. The story is not without merit, but it is slight.

Niagara Book (The). By W. D. Howells, Mark Twain, Prof. Nathaniel S. Shaler, and Others. Illustrated. (New and Revised Edition.) Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 353 pages. $1.50.

Who would not see Niagara with such companions as "Mark Twain," W. D. Howells, E. S. Martin, Professor Shaler, and the Rev. Mr. Slicer? These gentlemen and others have written chapters which are now bound together and have become the only guide to Niagara of any literary or scientific importance. As may be imagined, we have accounts of the great falls from the humorous, historical, scientific, and other points of view. Intending tourists would appreciate an edition in smaller size as being more portable. The opening of the Pan-American Exposition makes this publication a timely one.

Pronunciation of 10,000 Proper Names (The). By Mary Stuart Mackey and Maryette Goodwin Mackey, B.A. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 4¼×6¾ in. 294 pages. $1.

This admirably supplements the well-known and useful "7,000 Words Often Mispronounced." The present book is especially valuable because it includes the names of places and people lately brought into prominence in connection with South Africa, Cuba, Hawaii, the Philippines, and the Far East. The system of vocal notation, the typographical arrangement, and the general form are all commendable. Names of books, characters in fiction, and works of art are included. The book is distinctly an addition to any reference library.

Stories of Pioneer Life for Young Readers. By Florence Bass. Illustrated. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 5×7¼ in. 136 pages. 40c.

Sailor's Log (A). By Robley D. Evans, Rear-Admiral, U.S.N. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. 467 pages. $2.

Admiral Evans has had forty years of active service, has been engaged in two wars, and has had varied and picturesque experiences in many quarters of the globe. Moreover, he has a striking personality, and, as "Fighting Bob," is known and loved all over the country. His story is vivid, dramatic, and full of life and incident. There are parts of the book which would be improved by compression, but in the main the narrative is clear, direct, and manly. The account of the fall of Fort Fisher, the exciting crisis in Chile, the experiences in Behring Sea, are chapters hardly less thrilling than those dealing with the fight at Santiago.

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Shadowy Waters (The). By W. B. Yeats. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 6½×10 in. 62 pages. $1.50.

A very beautiful example of the modern Celtic work in poetry; tender, delicate, and mystical, almost entirely detached from reality, although finding its material in a rude age, and bringing before the imagination men of a cruel and primitive temper. By reaction from the hard conditions of to-day, the Irish poets seem to take refuge in the rich legendary history of their country—a beautiful mythology which is a most precious inheritance of Ireland for literary purposes. In the group of modern Celtic poets Mr. Yeats holds perhaps the first place; not so much in original force as in delicacy of imagination, and in the distinctness with which he presents the Celtic type of sensibility, fancy, and the tendency to mysticism.

Successors of Mary the First (The). By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 267 pages. $1.50.

An Iliad of domestic woes, told in Mrs. Ward's lightest vein with considerable humor, and presenting graphically drawn sketches of a series of domestic servants of various degrees of obduracy, stupidity, carelessness, with two bright exceptions. The story culminates in a catastrophe—an attack of nervous prostration.

Through Luzon on Highways and Byways. By Willis Bliss Wilcox. The Franklin Book Co., Philadelphia. 5¼×8 in. 235 pages.

A badly written account of the trip which the author and Cadet Sargent made through northern Luzon when the territory was under the control of the newly organized Philippine Republic. The author's observations in all respects agree with those made by his companion and first published in The Outlook in the fall of 1899. He expresses a high regard for the civilization of his Filipino hosts, but refuses to enter the controversy as to what should be the settlement of the Philippine problem. The book contains several interesting illustrations.

Victim of Circumstances (A). By Geraldine Anthony. Harper & Bros., New York. 5×7½ in. 368 pages. $1.50.

Voysey. By R. O. Prowse. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¼×7¾ in. 404 pages. $1.50.

If it be held that any discussion of illicit relations between the sexes is inadmissible in fiction, this novel must *a priori* be classed as reprehensible. But critics and moralists are more and more inclined to consider that spirit, purpose, and moral tone rather than subject must be looked to in determining whether or not a story is commendable. "Voysey" is certainly not, on the one hand, a book with a patent moral purpose; on the other hand, it is not vulgar, sensual, or meretricious. Primarily and essentially it is a study of disillusionment. The methods of the author are closer, sometimes to those of Henry James, sometimes to those of George Gissing, than to those of the writers who shock the æsthetic and moral senses by broad or suggestive pictures of sensualism. Very deliberately, without any sensationalism, with exceeding delicacy of art, the author analyzes motive, temperament, and character, until the man and woman whose entanglement makes the sole plot of the story are brought before the reader's perception in every minute shade of thought and passion. As a piece of careful, subtle writing, few novels of late publication can compare with this. The fineness and certainty of touch are, indeed, extraordinary. In a sense, there is a vital lesson in this story of the growth and death of a guilty attachment—the vanity and nothingness of passion, the forlornness and emptiness of sin; this note is struck in the very last words of the man's reflection: "If the way of experience, of the deepened experience, of the deepened life, was for him the only way of atonement, that deepening could only result upon condition that, for long time to come, the burden of this folly should lie heavy upon him." In the main, however, the author is not a preacher, but an artist whose intent is for truth in art. His acumen and psychological exactness are quite out of the ordinary.

War's Brighter Side. By Julian Ralph. With Contributions from A. Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, and Others. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 471 pages. $1.50.

This tells the story of the publication of a little newspaper called "The Friend" by the newspaper correspondents in South Africa. With such contributors as Kipling and Conan Doyle, and such editors as Mr. Ralph and his associates, the little sheet could hardly help being jolly. Perhaps the extracts here given are too voluminous for the general reader, but they at all events commemorate a picturesque and interesting phase of war.

Women of the New Testament. By Walter F. Adeney, M.A. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 4¾×7½ in. 276 pages. $1.

This is a worthy companion to Dr. Horton's charming studies, recently noticed in this column, on "The Women of the Old Testament." Not only the hand of the scholar but the practical eye of the moralist has drawn these studies of character with an interest that connects historical with existing types, and finds in ancient life and experience a light for to-day. Many brief expositions of the Biblical narrative naturally occur, and in these Professor Adeney is always felicitous. His theological point of view, where points of controversy emerge, is on the liberal-orthodox side. For an enlarged ministry of women in the modern church, not short of public speaking, he finds ample Biblical precedent.

Mr. Charles L. Hammond, whose book, "About the Bible," was reviewed in The Outlook of April 20, writes us that we erroneously ascribed to him the account it gives of the books of the New Testament; that it is the account given by the "Bible for Learners," and that he rarely expresses his own opinion, but endeavors "to give the opinion of some of the greatest and best men of our time." We do not understand Mr. Hammond as intimating that the opinions of which our review expressly termed him "the compiler" are not his own, nor does the preface to his book intimate that he presents them for any other reason than that he has adopted them. Nevertheless, we should have been technically more correct in referring to them as quoted by him rather than as "his."

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Correspondence

"Some Southern Impressions"—Two Views

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Your article on "Some Southern Impressions" I desire to thank you for. Your impressions are eminently correct. Through the words and work of Booker T. Washington and through the efforts of good people North and South the true conditions of the negro problem are being made clear to all our people in the whole Nation; and a clear statement and understanding is, of course, the first necessary step in the solution of any problem.

The frank, brotherly spirit you manifest in your words concerning the ideas and conditions down here will do much good, especially in making the Southern white man see that he is understood and sympathized with by his Northern brother. Two facts seem, or have heretofore seemed, axiomatic to the Southern white man in his views on this question: first, the Northern white man would have his exact views and methods under similar conditions; and, second, the Northern man has not ever fully understood the true status of affairs in the South.

We believe that slavery, in the providence of God, was a blessing to the negro, but a greater injury to the white man than the negro's presence here is a burden to him now.

The negro needs internal improvement, if possible, more than change in his external environments. Now that the best people everywhere—even among the negroes—realize this, we can all co-operate wisely to do the work needed. I hope you and your good friends will come South again before long. Your spirit will help to make us more worthy of your co-operation and brotherly sympathy. Thanking you again, and with assurances of high esteem, I am, etc.,

HOMER BUSH.

Andrew Female College, Cuthbert, Ga.

To the Editors of The Outlook:

All that you say in your article on "Some Southern Impressions" is, in its right relations, true. The Southerner has less antipathy to the color of the negro than has the Northerner, and he has more interest in the negro's welfare than the Northerner has, because his destiny is wrapped up in that of the negro. He desires the negro's education, but not in the same sense at all in which the average Northerner desires the education of the lower classes of Northern society. If you could see the school-houses, or rather shanties in place of school-houses, and know of the meager stipend that colored teachers get, and bear in mind how small a proportion of the school money raised is appropriated for the colored people, you would hardly say that "he desires the negro's education." Of course the South has spent a good deal for the education of the negro, but not as much all told since the war as New York City spends every two years to support its public schools. . . . The principal evil that will come to us will be along the line of the prejudice against the literary education of the negro. One-tenth of the children of school age in the United States are negroes in the South; and every one of these that is being taught in a public school must be taught by a negro. Has the time come when the industrial education rather than the literary education is better adapted to make good teachers of public schools? Then, too, these eight millions of colored people need doctors. They prefer a well-equipped negro doctor rather than a white one. Is there any psychological reason for making white doctors by an extended classical education and negro doctors by an industrial? The same principle holds in the matter of lawyers and druggists and ministers. When the time comes that persons entering these professions in the North should learn to hoe and plow and lay bricks rather than go to literary and classical schools, it will be the right policy to shut off all our literary and classical schools for the negroes in the South. The trouble is that, both North and South, men are forgetting that negroes are Americans, and that, as Americans, they have a right to an American education; and an American education, if I understand it, is this: the common school for the masses; the industrial school for those who have the

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aptitude to receive it, and who will use it when they get it; the higher education for the professional man and for the leaders of the people.

J. G. MERRILL.

Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

"Nothing New Under the Sun"

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In The Outlook, under date of March 20, the following editorial comment appears: "A new basis of church membership has been established by Dr. Macfarland, the pastor, and his advisers in the Maplewood Congregational Church of Malden, Mass. The first change provides for the enrollment of all baptized children upon the membership book of the church," etc. This is very good—but it is not "a new basis of church membership"—unless, perhaps, it be new in that part of the country to which the article refers. It is not new in many other denominations. It has been in regular and unbroken use for generations in the Church to which the writer belongs. Every minister of the Reformed Church (U. S.) is obliged to report every year the number of "confirmed" and "unconfirmed" members of the church, the latter being the baptized children. Their names are regularly and carefully inscribed in the church book, and they themselves are regarded as being in a real and not a fictitious sense *members of the Church*, being taught from their infancy that they "are not their own, but belong to their faithful Saviour Jesus Christ," as says the Heidelberg Catechism in its opening Question and Answer.

Easton, Pa. H. M. K.

Notes and Queries

It is seldom possible to answer any inquiry in the next issue after its receipt. Those who find expected answers late in coming will, we hope, bear in mind the impediments arising from the constant pressure of many subjects upon our limited space. Communications should always bear the writer's name and address. Any book named in Notes and Queries will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, on receipt of price.

Please explain wherein there is *really* any advance in the "New Theology" over Arminianism as regards the salvation of mankind? In Dr. Abbott's article on The Rights of Man, Chapter III., paragraph five, he defines the Arminian doctrine of election to be that "God chooses all who choose him." What is the doctrine of the "New Theology"? If it is broader than Arminianism, would it be that God chooses (to save) all, even those who do not choose him (*i. e.*, choose to be saved); and that *his* choice must prevail? Can the "New Theology" have an *if* in it as regards universal salvation, and still be spoken of as a *real* advance on Arminianism? From what I know of Universalism, *it* should be referred to by Dr. Abbott instead of the New Theology, where he seeks a further step in eschatology, for Universalism is a real advance on Arminianism as respects the final results of God's purpose and efforts to save men. Universalism holds that God will succeed in *every* case and finally be all in all. Nor does it teach that his method will be that of compulsion or coercion, any more than Arminianism teaches that he will not help men to choose him.

H. R. R.

The New Theology holds that God chooses to do all for all men that infinite love can do, but declines to be dogmatic as to what that is which infinite love can accomplish while it preserves the moral freedom of the individual. It regards the elect individual as elect for the benefit of the non-elect through a ministration in which only he finds the blessing of the elect. That is, he is elect to serve and save the world, rather than to be saved out of the world, and in such service he is to work out his own salvation. As Dr. Bruce said, twenty years ago, election was simply God's method of fitting the few to bless the many (see his "Chief End of Revelation," p. 109).

I would be pleased to have you recommend the best and most reliable "Life of Christ." I am not particular as to the size of the work. I want to read the most authentic. F. A.

If you desire a critically written work, adapted to the ordinary reader, and without sketchy embellishment or homiletic comments, there is perhaps nothing better than Professor Gilbert's "Student's Life of Jesus" (The Macmillan Company, New York, $1.50).

1. Please tell me if most churches solicit or accept aid from the saloon business. I have withdrawn from a church society on that account, but am told by members that it is quite the usual thing, and that saloon men ought to help redeem sinners, since they make so many. Custom does not affect my opinion of right or wrong, but I do wish to know if it is really true that the majority of churches accept or solicit help from such sources. I would be glad to see an article in The Outlook on this subject. 2. Please name latest and best text-book in language for beginners, also publisher. C. S. P.

1. We are glad to answer the inquirer, residing in a far-distant State, that, though cases essentially like the above, and equally reprehensible, have sometimes been discovered in this part of the country, in some church getting rent from property let for such business, we have never till now heard of the sort of thing above described. 2. As the age of the "beginner" is not stated, we recommend you to send to Messrs. Ginn & Co., Boston, for their catalogue, in which you will find an ample variety of the best books.

Do any Congregational churches use a consecration service *without* baptism for children? Would it not be desirable that this method should be introduced in place of baptism of infants, for which there seems to be no Scriptural warrant? W. E. J.

We think that some do so. A service-book in the hands of the present writer, by Dr. Hunter, a Congregational minister in Scotland, contains a form for that purpose nearly identical with the form for baptism (James Clarke & Co., publishers, London). Such a rite is certainly desirable in cases where there are conscientious scruples against infant baptism.

Who is the author of "Sow an act and you reap a habit; sow a habit and you reap a character; sow a character and you reap a destiny"?

E. B. G.

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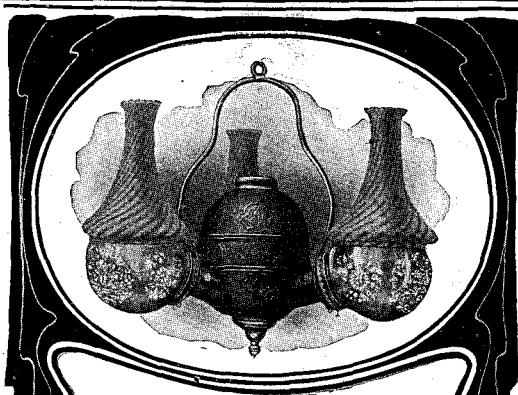

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